

THE ANDOVER REVIEW

VOLUME V.—PUBLISHED MONTHLY.—NUMBER XXVI.

FEBRUARY, 1886

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THE
ANDOVER REVIEW:

A RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL MONTHLY.

VOL. V.—FEBRUARY, 1886.—No. XXVI.

THE SPIRITUAL PROBLEM OF THE MANUFACTURING TOWN.

I.

It is proposed, first, to make a presentation of the facts which constitute the problem, and then to offer suggestions respecting the solution of it. The presentation will be in the form of a study of the manufacturing town as it exists. The spiritual and the industrial, the inner quality and the environment, are inseparable. Apart from each other they can be neither understood nor successfully dealt with.

The manufacturing town is a product of the nineteenth century. Labor-saving machinery has been invented and used as never before in history. It requires division of labor, for in most manufactures a given machine completes but one process. The same person cannot both propel and superintend it, for the possible action is too rapid and the power required often too great. With water or steam power the massing of machinery is desirable, for the sake of economy in power and the largest production in result. The next improvement is to bring into one yard or under one roof the various machines that are needful for all the processes of manufacture from the raw material, and propel them all by the same power. In number the different machines are adjusted to each other, so that in all processes the productive capacity shall correspond, and the work of manufacture go on harmoniously. The result is a factory, by which is secured the largest production in the shortest time at the lowest cost.

The factory system became established in the United States between 1810 and 1830. It naturally tends to the formation of stock corporations. The management of a large factory is scarcely more burdensome than of a small one; no greater wisdom or effi-

ciency is required; both buying and selling are facilitated, and there is greater economy of manufacture. But the larger factory requires larger capital. In England one man or one family often has all that is needed; in this country more frequently a corporation is formed. Those engaged in forming it take a controlling amount of the stock, their friends or the public take the remainder. The corporation has its board of directors; they have their managing agent or treasurer; in his office are book-keepers. In the factory are the superintendent, who has charge of all the processes of manufacture, and who is responsible for the general conduct of the mill; the overseers, each in his own department, some subordinate officials and the whole body of operatives. If one corporation succeeds, others are apt to follow in the same locality. The causes that produced one will produce others. There is industrial and financial advantage in a certain amount of multiplication. A manufacturing centre is made, with a reputation. Laborers seek it, and are more easily obtained at will. Sellers of raw materials seek it, and buyers of manufactured goods; the avenues of trade are kept open. Thus there comes to be a manufacturing town, in which one or more manufactures constitute a principal industry. The factory owners and directors may live in the town or may not; all employees must live there. Their residences may be scattered through the town; but commonly they are massed together in a locality by themselves not far from the factory. The operatives may make a large or a small proportion of the population of the town, with corresponding influence and power; but in any case they make one of the constituent forces which determine the life and character of the town.

Thus far the facts are substantially the same in all departments of manufacture. But beyond this point there is great diversity, even in the same industry. Boards of directors greatly differ in character and in methods of management. Agents differ; there are very great differences among the industrial officials and the workmen; and, independently of the factories, towns differ. What is true of one factory or town may not be true of another, or at least not equally true. This fact of diversity must be constantly borne in mind. In these articles regard will be had mainly to the manufacture of textiles, and specially to the cotton manufacture. Many statements, however, will be equally true if applied to other industries in which the factory system is adopted.

Consider first the operatives and their condition. A factory for the manufacture of textiles of any kind is called a mill. The in-

vention of manufacturing machinery in the last half of the eighteenth century and the factory system of the nineteenth have created the operative class. In the earlier time almost all work was done at home, in intervals of leisure from other and different occupations; and to a great extent families did their own carding, spinning, and weaving. In the early history of the factory system in the United States the operatives were Americans; not a few of them owners of stock in the mills where they worked. But foreigners soon took their places. Poorer in purse, inferior in intelligence and, commonly, in the type of their civilization, they worked more continuously than the Americans, and more contentedly at low wages. There is great difference, however, in the character and human quality of operatives, even in the same mill. Some will naturally be good workmen, some poor; some upright and thrifty, others intemperate, vicious, unthrifty. For the predominating quality, something depends on the mill itself. Other things being equal, the most comfortable mill, with newest and best machinery, can command the best workmen; for it will yield the largest and best product per hour, with the least difficulty in operation. Something depends on the kind of work done in the mill. If the work be uniformly the same, and in the simpler, coarser grades of manufacture, less skill is required, and the grade of workmen will be lower. Something depends on the size and character of the town. If the town be small, the mills few, and the operatives scattered through it, they will be known to every one, and continually under the influence of a higher civilization than their own. Some small towns, however, are almost wholly made up of operatives and those who supply their needs. If the town be large and the manufacturing industry extensive the operatives will live by themselves in masses, with little society except among themselves; and in the great number of them there will be many who are ignorant and vicious, and, probably, not a few who are more or less turbulent. Very much depends always on the moral administration of the mill, which will be discussed hereafter.

For the foreign operative the factory system has been in some respects a benefit. His employment has been more constant. In times of business depression mills do not stop unless it becomes absolutely necessary. The rust of inaction is a greater harm to fine machinery than the wear of manufacture. If mills stop for any length of time the best workmen seek employment elsewhere and are lost to the corporation. The least competent and least thrifty must be supported by public charity, and that means an

increase of tax on the corporations. If a mill can pay running expenses, there is less loss in paying wages than by rust and taxation. The operative thus makes his living in time of depression, when the owner gets little or no income. Since the establishment of the factory system, also, there has been an almost continual rise of wages. From 1830 to 1880 the rise of men's wages in the cotton factories of New England was 38 per cent.; the rise of women's wages 149 per cent. But between 1880 and 1883 there was a considerable fall in wages.¹ In some parts of New England operatives were formerly expected to buy their supplies at the corporation store, by which the corporation made no profit or a good one, and correspondingly the operative was sometimes benefited and sometimes liable to extortion; but corporation stores have ceased to be. The prevalence of the factory system has reduced the price of all manufactured goods, and by this reduction the operative receives benefit with the rest of the community.

The factory system secures fellowship and society, but it may be only fellowship of the operative class among themselves. Old-country people from the same or adjoining towns get together in the mills, live as neighbors, revive their old associations and habits. Labor unions are formed, especially when there are several factories in the same town. As actually used the labor union may be a mischief, but legitimately used it may be a benefit in securing coöperation and better conditions of labor and life. The coöperative store, loan association or bank are other results of the aggregation of numbers.

The factory system has occasioned the intervention of law. When large numbers, especially of women and children, are dependent on a corporation for employment and their living, they are sometimes liable to direct or indirect oppression. But the corporation is a creature of law, and therefore peculiarly subject to law. Labor unions may be abused for the oppression of non-union operatives, or for the oppression of corporations. Considering their stage of civilization the very number of operatives may endanger the well-being of a community; the community must be protected from harm. Therefore almost from the beginning of the factory system there have been factory laws, to which additions are made from time to time as may seem needful. These laws are usually a benefit to all concerned; and, specially, they have been a benefit to the operative. They have forbidden the employment of children under a certain age, and compelled the

¹ Report of the *Mass. Bureau of Statistics of Labor* for 1885, pp. 187, 455.

education of children. They have provided better buildings for the operative to work in, protected him from dangerous machinery and from fire, shortened his hours of labor, compelled weekly payments by which, in expenses for subsistence, the extortion of the credit system and the greater extortion of trustee writs may be avoided.

So far as factories are located in towns of any size the operatives have the advantage of the environment of a civilization beyond their own, with public libraries, water brought into their houses, and many comforts and conveniences of common life not elsewhere found.

In some other respects the factory system is not a benefit to the operative. There is commonly little or no personal contact between employer and employed. Labor is directed by a hired overseer, who was originally from the same social class with the operative, and commonly has not risen out of it. The overseer makes up a pay roll, and payments are made in envelopes handed out by a clerk as the employees pass in file. Occasionally there may be personal intercourse with the superintendent; but under the factory system it often happens that workmen and stockholder or director never meet, and do not know each other by sight. Workmen commonly know the agent by sight, but perhaps never have occasion to speak with him. So far as employers are concerned the operative is often only a part of the plant, or an impersonal adjunct to the machinery. It is easy to fall into the habit of thinking of him as such, and to carry on the whole business of manufacture with scarcely a thought of the humanity of the workman. A tenement is often provided for him, but because he cares for himself when in it he may receive less thought than the teams which are property, and for which owners must care.

This practical identification of the workman with the machinery which he operates is one of the worst liabilities of the factory system. It constitutes a personal grievance of which complaint is often made, and which is the source of the most bitter feeling of workman toward employer. It is probably the ultimate cause of most of the chronic irritation which manifests itself in the antagonism of labor and capital. The wage question is more often brought before the public, but operatives uniformly feel that wages are inadequate because their humanity and its needs are practically disregarded. The element of bitterness in the conflict, on their side, comes from the feeling that they are regarded and treated as pieces of machinery, which cost nothing to procure,

and will cost nothing to replace. The cost of keeping them in motion is the only matter considered, as the operative sometimes feels; and this cost, like all others, is to be reduced to the lowest possible point. In respect to the relation between employer and employed there has been an entire revolution since the time when, in America, both were members of the same social class, and lived side by side; or when the workman boarded in the family of the employer.

Apart from the factory system, the use of cunning machinery has a certain harmful influence upon the quality of humanity. It requires division of labor; useful for production, harmful for humanity. The workman is confined to a single process, and easily becomes so expert in it that his muscles act spontaneously, almost as if they were a part of the machinery. From that moment his work becomes mechanical, giving little or no occupation to the spiritual part of him, yet absolutely confining his attention to one and the same mechanical thing week after week, year after year. If his mind does not shrivel and become stolid, the form of his industry is not to be thanked for the escape. The mechanical dullness of mind is liable to be perpetuated through heredity. The more perfect the machinery the surer the stupefying effect upon the continuous workman. There is one partial relief, however. The more perfect and automatic the machinery, the lower the grade of employees sought and obtained. Those who are too ignorant and too undeveloped to be employed where mind is required can be made use of in connection with machinery for all the simpler products of manufacture. To begin with, they work at cheaper rates or with less complaint, and in the end they surely displace the class or nationality which is above them in development. This process of displacement has been going on continually. For the lowest grade of workmen employment with machinery may for a time involve elevation. Continual contact with numbers, even of the same class, has some stimulus in it. The system and the discipline of mill life may be helpful. The requirement of law respecting the education of children may secure for them what they would not otherwise get, or the intent of the law may be partly evaded. In a town not wholly made up of the lowest grade of operatives, there is an environment which is variously uplifting, and perhaps greatly so. The operative may be benefited; the town, into which many such operatives come, has a very serious problem to solve.

In cotton mills men, women, and children are all employed; in

Massachusetts they work sixty hours a week, in some other States sixty-six or more. The relative number of children varies in different mills. If pecuniary profit is the sole consideration, children will be employed as numerous as the nature of the work permits. If humanity is regarded, the number of children will be smaller. Here the law comes in, and, in Massachusetts, forbids any employment of children under ten years of age. Between the ages of ten and fourteen it forbids employment except upon condition of previous attendance upon school for six months out of every year. One would suppose that parental affection would desire the best possible conditions for the children. In many cases there is such a desire; but by poorer operatives, especially of the lower grade, children are regarded as means of pecuniary gain. Forged certificates of birth or baptism are often presented, perjury is not infrequent, in order to get children into the mill under the age required by law. Fraudulent certificates of instruction are sought for the same purpose. Perhaps the father aspires to live without labor, a loungee at rum-shops, or a political "worker," and therefore desires to be supported by the children. Less frequently the mother has similar ambitions. In other cases the one idea of the family is to improve their pecuniary condition. The parents have had no education whatever; they do not appreciate education for their children. Going from such homes many children attend school with reluctance, and receive comparatively little profit. During the six months of mill work they forget a great part of what they learned during the six months at school. They are sometimes put in schools by themselves; in that case they get no stimulus or elevation from schoolmates. They are sometimes put into the ordinary schools; in that case they are necessarily put into classes with children much younger than themselves, and have a certain amount of humiliation in consequence. Their influence upon their younger schoolmates may be the reverse of helpful. Young in years themselves, they may be old in their familiarity with evil and with vices. At the best they are in every way untrained,—through no fault of their own; some of them are bright, but in the studies of school life they are often comparatively dull.

In matters of education, school committees have their temptations and difficulties. The operatives are often Roman Catholics; the bishop establishes parochial schools and requires parents to send their children to the church school. The fathers are voters, or may become such. The school committee is elected by the

people. Political parties sometimes have regard to the political power of the Roman Catholic Church; school-committee nominations are not always made independent of political considerations. Members of school committees are not always free from political aspirations or independent of political influences. Quite apart from politics there are difficulties. In Massachusetts the law permits school committees, at their discretion, to accept the attendance of mill children at other than public schools. Such other schools must be "approved" by the committee, and, when approved, the superintendent is authorized to give mill certificates to the children who have attended them during the required time. The intent of the law is to secure the best education practicable for mill children. It is supposed that some private schools may be as good as the public schools; or perhaps the law makers wished to avoid responsibility and criticism. In Massachusetts, it is rarely, if ever, the case that Roman Catholic parochial schools can bear comparison with the public schools. The teachers are nuns, and, not infrequently, are phenomenally incompetent. The discipline of the school is far below that of the public school. The pupils spend half their time upon the church catechism and the prayer-book. The progress in secular studies is not, and can not be, as rapid as in the public schools, nor the work as thoroughly done. In most cases where mill children attend parochial schools the intent of the law is but partially attained.

The employment of women involves another class of evil liabilities. Girls and women are commonly employed on the new fly frames for ring spinning; they do the spooling, and are often more numerous in the weaving rooms. Many girls are taken from their homes and put into the mills before character is formed. They are often separated from parents and older friends; of course, a great deal depends on the character of those into whose company they come, on the character of the overseer and his management. It has been said that girls learn more wickedness in one year in the mill than in five years out of it. That is probably true of some mills and of some girls. Naturally they all become self-reliant; a portion of them lose the delicacy of their girlhood, and become bold in manners and rough in speech. Some of them are no strangers to foul language, and shock men by their use of it. Under the best management such language is forbidden in the mill, and those who are prone to it are weeded out; but there is something of it almost everywhere, on the street if not in the mill. There is little of the evil of social life of which such

foul-speaking girls are ignorant; but it by no means follows that they are immoral in conduct. Some of them are keenly alive to the dangers of vicious indulgence: they may lure a tempter only to repel him. Others fall an easy prey. Every year it happens somewhere, and repeatedly, that an overseer, having charge of a room in which girls are employed, is viciously inclined. Under his control are some who are careless in their work, perhaps because their moral tone is already low. They are often among the more ignorant, but not always; perhaps among the more destitute, but not always boisterous. They are told that their poor work will be passed over on one condition; otherwise they will be discharged. Such an overseer would commonly be discharged as soon as his practices were known; but if he is an efficient manager, and avoids open scandal, there are mills in which the superior officers would say, We are not responsible for a man's private immorality if he attends to his business. It is a relief to add that, in spite of all the evil liabilities, there are many girls in cotton mills who retain and mature the best moral qualities of womanhood, who are pure and gentle and discreet and aspiring; in the aggregate many who are Christian girls.

A distaste for home life and home occupations is a frequent evil result of employment in the mill. Accustomed to the whirr of machinery and to the multitude of fellow-workers, the home seems lonely, and confinement at home is dull and irksome. When girls marry they may still prefer to remain in the mill, hiring some one to take care of their children as soon as they are old enough to leave, perhaps even as soon as the mother is able to go to work. The amount of intelligent choice in marriage will depend on the previous condition. Young men and maidens who have some aspiration, and who have friends in better circumstances, or in a higher class than their own, will naturally wish to have wives and husbands worthy of their aspiration and their circle of friendship. Those whose social circle is limited to mill workers, especially if limited to the lower grades, will be governed by chance impulse, with little intelligence or choice. Almost inevitably, girls who have grown up in the mill are poor housekeepers, — the best of them, for a time. It may easily happen that they have almost no knowledge at all of the housekeeper's duties; they sometimes are not even able to sew a neat seam. Of course, these are the worst cases. If the housewife works in the mill, the lighter and more necessary housework is done in the evening; the heavier on Saturday afternoon or on Sunday. Efficient and thorough

housekeeping requires thought, contrivance, economy. The work in the mill is a mechanical routine; those who have been long engaged in it lose the habit of contrivance, lose taste for it, and may almost lose the power of it. Often they lose the power of making home comfortable and attractive. Thoughtfulness about little things has never been acquired. The womanly instincts that may make a poor man's home sweet and dear have been slowly obliterated. According to their means factory people are quite apt to buy the best their market affords. But the food may be cooked in a hurry, cooked poorly and wastefully. The little economies that make the difference between thrift and imminent pauperism are frequently not understood and not practiced; perhaps there is neither taste nor patience for them. Those who come from a native land where social castes are fixed have little or no thought of rising above their first level. Home is a few, small rooms. The best room has a carpet, comfortable furniture, and some decoration; the others are four bare walls, with floors uncarpeted, and with only the plainest and most necessary furniture. Here is economy, according to a prevalent idea of it. The rooms may be clean and neat, or neglected and very untidy. The home is a place in which to sleep, to eat one or two meals daily, and to spend a part of Sunday. Of course, there are better homes, in the aggregate many better ones; the description given applies to a frequent condition, not far from the average. Given such homes and such housekeeping, what will be the atmosphere in which children will grow up? What will be the poor man's probable thrift? What wonder if he and his older boys seek the brightly lighted and comfortable beer shop, with increasing demoralization?

The tenement house is a common element of the factory system in America. As operatives come from other countries, they are rarely able to have a house of their own. They rent from private owners or from the corporation, and can often pay only a low rent. Low rent means a tenement house, large or small; a great, plain box for human beings to live in. The halls, each with a front door on the ground floor, are one to four in number. On each floor there is one tenement on each side of the hall. The floors are from two to four in number. Many corporations prefer to control the matter of residence, and build long rows of tenement houses, each one just like every other, in which their operatives are required to live. The houses have two tenements or twenty, or any number between, according to the principles on which the corporation does its business. These principles also

determine the rules regulating the use of tenements, the kind of care taken of them, and the care or carelessness about the moral life of those who occupy them. A fairly high-minded corporation furnishes better houses than the operative could elsewhere get for the same price, insists upon care and neatness in the use of them, forbids mutilation of every sort, and, in fine, establishes rules which require a certain amount of character in the tenants. Perhaps an inspector is provided to enforce the rules. The sanitary condition is almost always susceptible of improvement; sometimes it is wholly bad. Mills which manufacture goods of the lowest grades, or which, for other reasons, have operatives of the lower grades, find it difficult to enforce the best use of tenements. Cases have been known in which, through neglect on the part of the corporation, there was a family for almost every room; while the walls of the halls were covered with indecent drawings and scribbblings. Some corporations prefer to leave the matter of residence to the operative. In that case he is given over to the mercy of private owners, who are sometimes sharpers, and to his own character, good or bad. The result is very different in different cases; in the worst cases the lessee gets permission to sublet, and fills every room; the sanitary condition is horrible, and the moral condition worse. On the ground floor there may be a rum shop; if the building is long there may be more than one. At the best a tenement house is an evil, and greatly so according to the number of tenements it contains. For a time it may be a necessary evil. With certain classes of operatives it may be permanently necessary, if it be necessary to perpetuate such classes, concerning which there is room for more than doubt. If the house is filled with residents of the lower grades they find in each other nothing to restrain or inspire. If good and bad are mingled together, the case of the best is very pitiable. It has been truly said that it is impossible to tell the amount of evil that may be done, or that may be generated, in tenement houses where the young are thrown together under circumstances which at the best are somewhat demoralizing.

As has been said, almost all cotton-mill operatives are now foreign-born, or the children of the foreign-born. The Scotch, including Nova Scotians, are the least numerous, and in general are of the highest grade. The English are numerous, and embrace all varieties, from highest to lowest. The best of them have no superiors in character or in work. Overseers have often been Englishmen, because of their thorough training in manufac-

ture. If of equally good character they have not been superseded. But many of them have been clannish, favoring their own countrymen or their own set, and irritating all other workmen; have been dictatorial to those under them, and inclined to insubordination toward their superiors. In England all operatives have been trained in labor unions, and they establish them here. They have been trained to make use of strikes, and most of the strikes in this country have been brought about by English spinners. The lowest class have been trained to think themselves hopelessly confined to their caste; they are imbruted, unambitious, unthrifty. The majority of the English are large consumers of beer. The Irish are also numerous, and are seldom of high grade. They are the least steady in their work, they drink whiskey, and are vigorous politicians, with an eye to the spoils. The Canadian French are the latest comers, and on the average represent the lowest grade in the development of humanity. It hardly needs to be said that there are great differences among them; in New England they are becoming very numerous. They are docile and apt in their work, most steady of all in their application to it; they are disinclined to strikes or labor troubles, and will bear what would be resisted by other nationalities as oppression. They are intent on their pecuniary gains, which they seek by steady work and by parsimony. Many of them have been untidy in their homes; they are often superstitious, wholly without education, and many of them care little for enlightenment. Diversities among them are increasing, however. Their leaders are anxious for the preservation of all national peculiarities, for the maintenance of parochial schools, and for a gradual preponderance in civil and political affairs. In religion the Scotch and English are usually Protestant, the Irish and French almost always Roman Catholic. Operatives who are of foreign birth feel themselves somewhat ill at ease among our institutions, do not readily adapt themselves to the new condition, and still less readily mingle in social life with native Americans. They are sensible of the absence of the old restraints, associations, and conventionalities, and may easily suffer some degeneration of character.

It may properly be inferred that there is very considerable difference in the intelligence of operatives. The fullest intelligence is found in the best classes of the Scotch and English. If they have access to a public library, the men are readers of substantial books, with a taste for political economy. Some of them are

thoughtful and practically wise as well as intelligent. Girls who read are apt to prefer fiction. Women with families read little or none. In general, a limited range of intelligence is characteristic. The law of Massachusetts requires ability to read as a qualification for voting; in practice the slightest ability is accepted. In one of the large manufacturing towns of the Commonwealth, it is said that from twenty to twenty-five per cent. of the voters are not able to read a page of an ordinary book intelligently.

There is as great diversity in respect to thrift as in respect to intelligence. Wages are never high, and are often low; but the amount of wages does not determine thrift. In one of the largest manufacturing cities of the Commonwealth a thousand barrels of beer are consumed every week. With other liquors also consumed, the amount of money thus paid to retailers cannot be less than a million and a half of dollars annually; and very much the larger part of it is paid by mill operatives. The assessments paid during strikes sometimes exhaust the entire savings of a year or two. The absence of discerning economy in the methods of house-keeping means waste. An intelligent and thrifty man, who has worked in a mill from boyhood almost to middle life, writes, "If the wife of a factory worker would practice the same economy practiced by an average mechanic's wife, she would be just as able to make the ends meet without going to the mill. The native American," he goes on, "has a pleasant sitting-room with carpet and pictures, a piano or organ, and a cozy home look everywhere, while many a mill operative, with the same wages, lives in a tenement house with bare walls." Nevertheless, the majority of operatives who are not intemperate or unusually unfortunate, and who desire to save, do save something, though it be little, year by year.

The writer just quoted says of the religious question: "There are no causes hindering a religious life among factory people except those which operate among other classes. I have known some of the best Christians among factory workers." The last statement, probably made of the best class of English operatives, is certainly true. But the social and religious usages, the personal habits and associations of a foreign land, have some influence to prevent a home feeling in our churches, and to hinder the free manifestation of piety. Therefore, there are some who maintain a degree of religious life in large measure apart from our churches and religious conventionalities. It keeps them reverent and conscientious, but has no propagating power. The best are a small

minority. Among operatives other than the best there is often a low spiritual and religious condition. There are many nominal Protestants who have but little spiritual sensibility in the forms in which we recognize it. Children are sent to Sunday-school, and perhaps attend more than one school. They form the hopeful element, but many counteracting influences hinder the full realization of hope. From sheer inertia of mind rather than of body there are many adults who seldom or never attend church. They do not appreciate the uplifting and inspiring influence of Sabbath worship on all the forces of life, and therefore neglect it. Many lack the intellectual qualifications for hearty participation in the services of perhaps most American churches. Yet it must be said that they were probably just as neglectful in their native land. The baptism of children has some mystical power, they think; they go to the minister to be married, and to secure burial services for their dead; beyond that they are apathetic. Their lack of education, their common deprivation of intelligent society, the caste fetters which many of the foreign-born never shake off, the nature of their home life, the absorbing monotony and mechanical routine of their work, — all combine to produce, in many, a condition peculiarly insusceptible to the highest influences. A certain amount of "practical" morality and a very uncertain attendance upon services of worship make out the idea of religion. If they begin a religious life, they easily fall out of the habits of it; they need watchful and unremitting care, and even then cannot always be held. When the impulse of novelty has gone, when the freshness of first experiences or of early life are over, they easily drop away. Some come to this country already biased by the influence of the philosophy of positivism, which has been popularized among the working classes of England. By friction between labor and capital, by caste prejudices, by real or fancied lack of regard for their humanity in practical life, some become disaffected or embittered toward the churches in which their employers worship, and toward the Christianity which they may profess. Such easily fall into the mood of captiousness or of skepticism. If requested to attend church, or if spoken to respecting personal piety, they ask, Am I not already as good as such an one? Some who ask such questions are upright and faithful men in daily life; some are spiritually stolid; some are the victims of the prejudices of ignorance, of caste, and of personal discontent.

It remains to complete this presentation by more briefly considering the relations existing between employers and employed,

and the relations between operatives and the community around them.

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THE RELIGION OF VICTOR HUGO.

THE genius of France generally incarnates itself in a man. In the seventeenth century Richelieu, in the eighteenth century Voltaire, were the leading spirits of the nation. Toward them all the secondary talents, as it were, gravitated; they were the springs which originated all the streams of thought and of action in their age.

At the beginning of the present century a man arose from the plebeian ranks, who became the incarnation of the armed Revolution. His name was Bonaparte. He passed like a meteor, but not before he had set on fire another genius, who became afterwards, in the world of letters, what Napoleon had been in the world of politics. That young genius, who was destined to fill the evening of the century with his glory, as Bonaparte had filled the beginning of it, was Victor Hugo. These two men occupy the whole age. Both sprung out of the great Revolution; both — in more senses than one — were the heirs and continuators of Voltaire. Voltaire, Napoleon, Victor Hugo; the philosopher, the soldier, the poet: these three names will be closely connected by posterity, and will shine like a cluster of stars in the skies of history, as the threefold representation of modern France.

The life of Victor Hugo has not yet been written. His ashes are scarcely cold; the time has not yet come when impartial history can render her verdict on the great poet. For the present, we are restricted to the works of his glowing panegyrists and of his passionate detractors. There is much in our actual estimation of Victor Hugo's character, and in his great popularity, that will be swept away. Future generations will forget the politician and remember only the writer, while many have loved him, and love him still, more for his political opinions than for his literary genius. His private life has not yet been wholly disclosed, and we do not feel at liberty to speak of those facts which, though of public notoriety, have not yet been formally published. Yet some of these facts would go far towards giving us an explanation of Victor Hugo's contradictions in religious matters. They would

enable us to understand how such a man may have been, at some epochs of his life, so near the kingdom of heaven without ever entering into it.

It is not easy to compress into a few pages the religious history of a man who lived eighty-three years, and professed, in turn, all the different opinions which produced themselves during that period. However, we shall try to do so, and afterwards determine what, amidst these many theories, were the standing and permanent principles which governed Victor Hugo's moral life, as they appear in his writings. We shall then conclude by some considerations on the influence which these principles have had upon his fellow-citizens and his contemporaries.

I.

Victor Hugo was the third son of General Léopold Sigisbert Hugo and of Sophie Trébuchet, his wife. He was born February 26, 1802, in the old city of Besançon, but his father was from Lorraine, and his mother from Brittany. Two kinds of blood mingled in his veins: the Red Republican blood of his father, who had been a volunteer under the Revolution and had then changed his name from Léopold to Brutus in order to show the genuineness of his democratic convictions, and the blue blood of his mother, who was the daughter of a rich shipowner of Nantes, a staunch Royalist. Indeed, if Victor Hugo's recollections¹ are true, his mother would have been a *brigande*, that is, one of the Royalist rebels of Vendée, at the same time that his father was fighting the same rebels in the service of the Republic. But, under the *Directoire*, political passions had subsided on both sides, and Captain Hugo married the Royalist young lady, giving up, at the same time, his name of Brutus. There was no religious ceremony performed at the wedding, for the bride, as much as the husband, was a decided Voltairean.

When the First Consul Bonaparte became the Emperor Napoleon we find both husband and wife among those around the newly established throne. Whatever their inward preferences were, they managed to appear very loyal and faithful to the new Caesar. After a while Captain Hugo became General Hugo, aid-de-camp of Joseph, King of Spain, first major-domo of his palace,

¹ In the book entitled, *Victor Hugo raconté par un Témoin de sa Vie*, which was written by his daughter-in-law, under his supervision. I am compelled to say that some of the statements of that book do not agree with facts. The memory of the poet must sometimes have failed him.

Count of Cisuentes, etc., etc. He fought with great zeal for the Napoleonic dynasty in Spain, and had the special confidence of the emperor's brother. At times he took his family with him. It was thus that Victor Hugo, for about a year, was a pupil in the College of the Nobles in Madrid: a happy event, which gave him a knowledge of Spanish history and literature. He followed his father also to Corsica and to Italy. Those were heroic times: the beating of drums, the thunder of guns, were constantly heard throughout Europe, and in the child's little head all those glorious echoes resounded, to be afterwards translated into immortal poetry. But this vagrant life did not please Madame Hugo, who does not seem to have lived in perfect harmony with her husband. She came back to Paris, and settled in an old convent, the garden of which was large and mossy, that *maison des Feuillantines* which some of the poet's best rhymes have made immortal, though it has disappeared long ago.

The direct influence of the father on the son's education was very small. Victor Hugo — like almost all the great men of the world — was educated by his mother. She was a person of remarkable intellect, but of a wild imagination. She was, as we said, a Voltairean; she believed in a God, but cared very little, I am afraid, about Him. She was a true representative of that class of women of the last part of the eighteenth century who, with a refined intelligence, had a very loose standard of life. Her elder sons were baptized a long while after their birth, and only for worldly considerations. It has never been ascertained that Victor was baptized. When he entered the College of the Nobles, in Madrid, she declared him to be a Protestant, in order to save him from the necessity of being confessed and of going to mass.

Madame Hugo was exceedingly fond of reading. She read, in her hunger, anything that fell under her eyes. But, as she did not like to begin a book which might prove uninteresting, she had a curious method of proceeding. She employed her two younger boys, Eugène and Victor (Abel being with his father), in trying the books for her. They had an old bookseller, named Royol, as their neighbor. "The two boys used to search the good man's shop, and they carried away anything they liked. With these two purveyors, who never let her lack her daily supply, Madame Hugo had soon read all the ground-floor of the *bon-homme*; there was an upper story, but Royol did not like to show it to the children, for he had there books of such a philosophy and such a morality as to unfit them for their reading. He said so to

the mother, but she answered that *books never harm*, and the two brothers got the key of the *entresol*."¹ Thus, at ten or eleven years of age, Victor Hugo read Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and some of the worst novels of the eighteenth century, such as the filthy works of Louvet.

Besides this strange education from his mother, he was put under the care of a schoolmaster who was also a curious type of the times. Père Larivière, as the boys called him, had been a priest; he had married under the Revolution for fear of the guillotine, and in his haste had taken the very first woman he could find, that is, his own servant. Although good Larivière was no more in the Church, there was much that was clerical about him; he was learned enough, and taught the boys Greek and Latin. But at the same time he taught them some of his old superstitions, which he had never thoroughly given up. What a curious specimen of the imbroglio of that period! And what a perilous training for a child who was destined to lead the thought of his countrymen! A brilliant, but careless mother; an eclectic father; a semi-priest; the book-shop of the *bonhomme* Royol: how can we wonder that, ever afterwards, Hugo should have been wandering from one doctrine to another, and should finally have settled into skepticism! It is remarkable that Rousseau's education and that of Voltaire were of the same kind. What France has lacked hitherto is not men of genius, but mothers to train them in the right way.

Victor Hugo was still a child when the great soldier, Napoleon, fell. His parents at once embraced the cause of the *Restauration*, and we find that, as soon as the young genius began to sing aloud (as early as 1817, when he was only fifteen), he sang the glories of the white lilies. At that time royalty and religion were closely connected; "the throne and the *étas*," as the phrase was, backed each other. Victor Hugo, therefore, learning in his home to be practical, turned to the rising sun. No doubt there was some sincerity in his effusions; he was a warm admirer of Châteaubriand, the author of "The Genius of Christianity," and his first productions were imitations of that great master. It is a rather curious circumstance that the first poem that brought "the sublime child"² to light — "The Rescue of Moses from the Waters" — was inspired by the Bible.

¹ *Victor Hugo raconté*, etc., vol. I., page 213.

² The expression, "the sublime child," has been attributed to Châteaubriand, but he strongly denied having ever thus spoken of Victor Hugo.

All the productions of Victor Hugo from that time, and even before, to the end of the *Restauration* breathe the strongest loyalty to the kings, and the greatest respect for the Church. He reproached the poets of the time of Louis XIV. for "having sung the gods and goddesses of antiquity rather than the God of Christianity, and thus having prepared the way for that heathenish movement, the Revolution." His associates in the journals for which he wrote were such men as Châteaubriand, Alfred de Vigny, Lamartine, Guiraud, Soumet, — all of whom were more Royalists than the king, more Catholics than the bishops. And yet we have some difficulty in believing that Hugo was absolutely sincere in his religious faith. We rather think that, while he was thoroughly a deist, he considered all the rest as a political necessity, and viewed the pomps and the legends of the Church as splendid materials for his poetry. But one thing is certain: his Royalist feelings gained for him the favor of the court. After he had written his odes on the statue of Henri IV., the crowning of Charles X., the death of Louis XVII., the birth of the Duke of Bordeaux (afterwards Comte de Chambord, or Henri V.), the christening of the same, he obtained a pension on the royal *cassette*, and soon afterwards the Legion of Honor. His father was nominated lieutenant-general of the king's armies.

As we are merely sketching a religious history of Victor Hugo, we shall say very little of the literary revolution which preceded by two or three years the political events of 1830. Long before Hugo entered the field the fight had begun between the classics and the romantics. Châteaubriand had started the movement which tended to free French literature from the conventionality of preceding writers. Victor Hugo threw himself into this movement with all his genius, and at once stamped the revolution with his mark. Though he did not originate romanticism, he is regarded as its father, because he was the greatest disciple of the new school.

It was then (1827) that he wrote the *Ode à la Colonne*, which was a symptom of his tendency to liberalism. It was natural that the literary movement should ally itself with the political. Victor Hugo understood it, and, without openly joining the opposition, began to be less exultant in his royalism; the theatre took hold of him. He wrote "*Cromwell*," a piece that shows a great knowledge of the letter of the Bible, quotations from which are put into the mouths of the Covenanters, sometimes with surprising fitness. The Bible, during all these years, had been

one of his favorite books. Somewhere he associates it with his Virgilius.

When the Revolution of 1830 broke out we find Victor Hugo decidedly liberal. He sang the three great *Journées* (the three days of battle in the streets, 29–31 July) as he had sung the birth of the Duke of Bordeaux. It was then fashionable to be a Bonapartist. A man could not be considered liberal if he was not prepared to claim from “perfidious Albion” the ashes of “the Great Man.” Victor Hugo followed public opinion on this point as on many others. He was the son of a Napoleonic general, and could do no less.

All through the reign of Louis Philippe, Victor Hugo continued the policy of following, rather than leading, public opinion. Indeed, he seems to have had, in the first part of his life, the same trait as Voltaire: a strong desire to live amicably with the powers. He became an academician and a peer, and in that capacity always pleaded in the Upper House the cause of humanity. He was careful to keep aloof from the unhappy revolutionists, while constantly pleading their cause.

It is in this part of his career that we find the poet’s religious opinions to be the nearest to our own views. He had given up the ultra-Catholicism of his youth; he had not attained the ultra-democratic views of his old age. It was at this time that he began the novel “*Les Misérables*,” which has so much of Protestant spirit. It was at this time that he published what we consider his master-piece, “*Notre Dame de Paris*,” the spirit of which is equally far from the two extremes. It was at this time that he wrote “*Claude Gueux*,” the story of a criminal, which concludes with these words:—

“Do you know that France is one of the countries of Europe where those who can read are the most scarce? Why, Switzerland can read, Belgium can read, Denmark can read, Greece can read, Ireland can read, and France cannot read! It is a shame! . . .

“When France shall be able to read, do not leave without direction that intellect which you will have developed. It would be another kind of disorder. Ignorance is better than bad science. Remember there is a book more philosophical than ‘*Le Compère Matthieu*,’ more popular than ‘*Le Constitutionnel*,’ more eternal than the Chart of 1830; it is the Holy Scripture. And here a word of explanation.

“Whatever you do, the fate of that great crowd, of the multi-

tude, of *the majority*, will ever be comparatively poor, and unhappy, and sad. To them the hard labor, the burdens to push, the burdens to draw, the burdens to carry.

"Examine this balance: all the enjoyments on the rich man's side, all the miseries on the poor man's side. Is not the balance unequal?"

"And now, into the lot of the poor, into the scale of the miseries, throw the certitude of an heavenly future, throw the aspiration after eternal happiness, throw Paradise; magnificent counterweight! You reëstablish the equilibrium. The lot of the poor is as rich as the lot of the rich.

"That is what Jesus knew, who knew more than Voltaire.

"Give to the people who work and suffer, give to the people for whom this world is bad, the belief in a better world made for them.

"They will be tranquil, they will be patient. Patience is made out of hope.

"Therefore, sow the villages with Gospels.

"A Bible for each cottage. Let every book and every field produce, by coöperation, a moral laborer.

"The head of the man of the people,—that is the question. . . . Cultivate it, water it, fecundate it, enlighten it, moralize it, utilize it; you will not need to cut it off."

We have transcribed this whole passage, because it shows the climax of Victor Hugo's religion. He never went above this, alas! Would to God he could have stayed there! He was then in the fullness of his powers: thirty-two or thirty-three years of age. And this is what he wrote, thirty years afterwards, to a friend of ours:—

"Hauteville House, December 20, 1866. — I have delayed, sir, to answer you. Your verses are beautiful and unfair (the friend had sent him some lines, to remind him of his first declarations on the Bible). I believe in the same God as yourself, but *j'y crois de plus près* (He is nearer than yours). There is not between Him and me the intermediary of an idolatry and of a book. *God without a Bible, it is truth without a veil.* . . . Have, like myself, faith and hope. I shake affectionately your hand. VICTOR HUGO." How different from the lines he wrote in 1834, which seem to have been dictated by a Christian minister!

It must be remembered that, under the Monarchy of July, Protestantism was nobly represented in high quarters. The Duchess of Orleans, wife of the Prince Royal, was a decided, fervent Chris-

tian; M. Guizot, the greatest minister of Louis Philippe, was also a Protestant of the highest type; and many in the court illustrated the once hated religion by noble examples and noble lives. There is no doubt that Victor Hugo, a peer and a baron, often met these persons and breathed their spirit. And although we find in his writings of the later period, specially in those that he composed at Guernsey, a deep and reverent sense of the Deity, we shall never see him, afterwards, so near to that ideal of religion which we consider the true one. Who knows the mysterious circumstances, the hidden reasons, which caused the sad downfall of a man who might then, if he had chosen, have been the reformer of his country?

When the Revolution of 1848 broke out he was not one of those who applauded it. But, with his usual mobility, which does not throw any question on his sincerity, he soon rallied to the Republic, and in 1850 we find him at the extreme Left of the democratic side in the House of Representatives.

Victor Hugo had at last found a sovereign worthy of his incense. He had burned it before Louis XVIII., Charles X., and Louis Philippe. Now another king had stepped forward: the People. Victor Hugo, who had always instinctively been a democrat, had finally discovered himself, and henceforth his political opinions never varied. In these new connections it was impossible that he should not become a radical in everything.

A great admirer of Napoleon I., he believed in his nephew. He advocated the candidature of Prince Louis Bonaparte to the presidency of the Republic. But when the President showed what he aimed at he found a strong opponent in the poet. And when the *coup d'état* broke out (December 2, 1851) he was one of the most energetic defenders of the rights of the Assembly and of the people. He has written that mournful story in a small book, "*Histoire d'un Crime*," which for ever has branded Napoleon III. with a bloody mark on the forehead. And when resistance was useless, when the *faubourgs* were silenced, Victor Hugo fled away from France, and did not return till the month of September, 1870.

On the ocean rock which was the eagle's nest for eighteen years, alone between the sky and the sea, Victor Hugo rose, as a poet, to the highest degree of perfection. His works dated from Guernsey breathe a sense of the divine, which he could not have attained in the bustle of Parisian life. He was severely tried during his stay at Guernsey by the death of his favorite daughter, who was

drowned with her husband, Charles Vacquerie, shortly after their marriage. In "Les Contemplations" he has some accents of sorrow, hope, resignation, which are entirely Christian in their spirit, accents which were not his own, which he borrowed from that very book which, in his sad pride, he called "a veil" hiding God from man, while it is the only opening made into heaven for the eye of man to gaze through!

Just as the refined yet genuine Protestantism of Louis Philippe's court may have had some influence on the great man's former feelings, so it is quite certain that he hated the Puritanic form of Christianity which he found in the Channel Islands. "No letters on Sunday" seemed to him an unendurable sign of bigotry.¹ His great mind could not stoop to the requirements of the unphilosophical crowd, who need to have religious habits in order to entertain religious thoughts. He was not great enough to see that underneath those customs and practices there was a great deal of moral character, which otherwise could not have been developed.

One of the greatest glories of Victor Hugo will be that long period of exile, which he bore so valiantly. In 1858 Napoleon III. offered an amnesty to the Republicans who had fought against him. Victor Hugo was one of the few who refused it, with Louis Blanc, Edgar Quinet, Ledru Rollin, etc. He exclaimed:—

"S'il n'en reste que mille, eh bien, j'en suis ; si même
Il n'en reste que cent, je brave encor Sylla ;
S'il n'en reste que dix, je serai le dixième,
Et s'il n'en reste qu'un, je serai celui-là !" ²

It was then that he wrote those "Châtiments," in which he equals, and sometimes surpasses, Juvenal. He was the representative of outraged conscience. In that respect he served, without being aware of it, the cause of true religion.

When the Republic was proclaimed, in 1870, after the national disasters, Victor Hugo hastened to return to France. He stayed in Paris during the siege, and nobly played his part in the national tragedy. He was led, under the influence of his surroundings, and also, we believe, by his extreme and growing fondness for popularity, to issue during the last fifteen years some productions which, while they are much inferior to his former writings in

¹ See the first lines of *Religions et Religion*.

² "If only a thousand remain, I shall be one of the number ; if only one hundred, I still defy Sylla ; if only ten, the tenth shall be myself ; and if only one, I shall be that one !"

point of style, are painfully stamped with the mark of infidelity. And yet, God was knocking at his door with a terrible severity. His wife had died in 1869; his two sons, François and Charles, died just after the "terrible year," one not long before the other, in the prime of their manhood and the strength of their powers. The first had translated Shakespeare, — a difficult undertaking, which he successfully achieved. The second was a remarkable journalist. Victor Hugo was left with only one child, a daughter, who is still alive, and has been for more than twenty-five years in a lunatic asylum, and two grandchildren, Georges and Jeanne, who will live forever in the verses of their doting grandfather. His resignation under these severe blows is said to have been admirable; yet they did not bring him any nearer that Christ of whom forty years before he wrote thus: —

"Vous qui pleurez, venez à ce Dieu, car il pleure.
 Vous qui souffrez, venez à lui, car il guérit.
 Vous qui tremblez, venez à lui, car il sourit.
 Vous qui passez, venez à lui, car il demeure."¹

His last illness was short. It is said that morphia was freely used to alleviate pain, and prevented, therefore, the dying man's expression of his feelings in those long hours of agony. He said to a friend, in one of his moments of lucidity, alluding to the tremendous conflict of life and death: "This is the fight of the night and the day." This is all we know of his state of mind. He refused the visit offered by the Archbishop of Paris in a letter which was nobly written, and in which the prelate offered "the comfort that an old man can give to another." The last clauses of his will, written some time before his death, were in these simple words: "I refuse the *oraisons* (mummed prayers) of all the churches; I beg a prayer of every soul. I believe in God."

His funeral service was solemn, though void of any official religious element. A whole nation was mourning over the great man. There were no demonstrations of infidelity, and though no priests were present it did not seem incongruous that the remains of the poet should be deposited under the vaults of a building, the gilded cross of which still glitters over Paris, though the Panthéon has ceased to be a church.

¹ We find in an English newspaper the following rendering of these lines:—

"Weeping souls, draw near, never fear, — He doth weep.
 Ye who suffer, come, here is room, — He doth heal.
 Ye who halt through fear, welcome here, — He doth smile.
 Ye whose life's brief day glides away, — He abides."

II.

Amidst the many fluctuations of Victor Hugo's mind a few principles — not to say dogmas, for he hated the word — stand above all these variations, and were permanently held by him. We shall briefly define these principles, which constituted Victor Hugo's religion. They are all contained in the two sentences of his will which we have quoted above.

1. *The Being of God.* On that point he never varied, never doubted. His belief in the existence of a God was necessary to him as a man and as a poet. His Muse is essentially religious; there is scarcely a volume of his, we believe, nay, — a single page of his lyrical productions, — where the name of God does not occur.

"Il est, il est, il est, il est éperdument !" ¹

says he in one of his latest productions. And in another, of a more ancient date: —

"Dieu seul est grand ! C'est là le psaume du brin d'herbe.

Dieu seul est bon ! C'est là l'hymne du flot superbe.

Dieu seul est vrai ! C'est là le murmure du vent." ²

Indeed, we are at a loss to find, amidst twenty different quotations, the best one. All are striking, all show that in his inmost soul, whatever doubts he had on other subjects, he never had the slightest tendency to atheism. His God is a personal God, who hears prayer: though he never said what his views on praying were, he often mentions it as a duty and a privilege. One of his finest pieces begins thus: "Daughter, go and pray." And he enumerates all the beings for whom the child ought to pray, then concludes: "Pray for me."

"God," said he to a friend some time before his death, "God is justice, conscience, freedom." He admitted the universal Fatherhood of God; he rejoiced in it; but did not admit the divinity of Christ and his special Sonship: Jesus was a man like Socrates and Plato, higher, of course, but only separated from them by degrees of greatness, not by essence. He even went so far, in his "Discourse on the Centenary of Voltaire's Death," as to associate the philosopher's name with that of Christ, calling them "two servants of mankind who have appeared at eighteen hundred

¹ "He is, he is, he is, he is assuredly !" ² The French adverb has an intensified meaning which has no equivalent in English.

² "God alone is great ! is the psalm of the grass. God alone is good ! is the hymn of the mighty wave. God alone is true ! is the murmur of the wind."

years' interval." He forgot, perhaps, that forty years before he had called Voltaire —

... "A monkey endowed with genius,
Whom Satan had sent on the earth on a mission."

2. *The Immortality of the Soul.* He held this point with equal firmness, but he spoke only for his own soul, the future existence of which he did not doubt, though he would say nothing for the souls of others. His views on this point approached somewhat the doctrine of "Conditionalism." Here is a little parable, by which he beautifully illustrated his views on the subject: —

"Dante, the great poet, wrote two lines of verse on a piece of paper, then left the room. In his absence, the two lines had a discussion. The first said: 'I feel the touch of immortality. I am the child of an immortal mind, and I shall live forever, in the memories of posterity.' But the other answered: 'I do not think so; at all events I do not feel anything of the kind. I do not believe in immortality; we are nothing, after all, but a bit of paper.' As they were thus speaking Dante reëntered the room; he looked at the two lines, took up his pen, and erased the second verse. Both were right. He alone is immortal who is conscious of being so."

One can see by this quotation how brilliant and fanciful, but how utterly careless of logic, Victor Hugo was in his religious views. They were those of a poet, not of a philosopher.

3. *Conscience.* Nobody, in this century, has ever upheld with more authority and power before the multitudes the sacredness of conscience than Victor Hugo. Though he did not admit eternal punishment, nor, indeed, it seems, any punishment of any kind after this world, yet he was constrained, as it were by intuition, to hold up conscience as a voice of God which cannot be disobeyed without some fatal consequences. Every one knows his beautiful poem, *La Conscience*, the story of Cain fleeing away before the eye of God. He walks thirty days and thirty nights, until he reaches the shores of the ocean. "Let us stop here," says he. But, as he sits down, his face turns pale: he has seen, "in the mournful skies, the Eye at the same place." His sons, full of awe, try to erect barriers between him and the Eye: a tent, then a wall of iron, then a tower and a city; but all is vain. "I see the Eye still!" cries the unhappy man. At last they dig a tomb; the father is put into it. But

"Though overhead they closed the awful vault,
The Eye was in the tomb, and looked on Cain!"

Another beautiful passage, and one of his most celebrated, is that chapter in "*Les Misérables*" entitled *Une Tempête sous un Crâne* (A Storm under a Skull), where he shows a man, formerly a convict, who has become a rich merchant, full of honors and respected by a whole country. But his crime has not been expiated, and an innocent is about to be condemned for what he has done. That innocent is a kind of idiot, an uninteresting fellow, whose life and well-being are of very little importance to the community. What will the ex-convict do? Save the man by denouncing himself? It is ruin to him and to those who depend upon him. The galleys again, after the comforts of life, after the great position which he now holds! But what! Shall he enjoy his meals, his bed, his comfort, his honors, and think of the wretch who is at the galleys for him! After a whole night's conflict M. Madeleine decides to obey his conscience, whatever the cost may be. He goes to the tribunal, he denounces himself, he frees the man, he is condemned, and he returns joyfully to the galleys. Is not this a Christian conception?

His "*Châtiments*," and especially the piece entitled *Expiation*, proclaim in the same way the inviolability of moral law. Napoleon III., in the midst of his insolent triumph, must have shivered in his palace when reading the denunciations of that new Elijah who, on the rocks of Guernsey as on another Carmel, prophesied for eighteen years, with undaunted perseverance, the inevitable and shameful downfall of "Napoleon the Small," as he despitefully called him.

4. And yet Victor Hugo was preëminently the poet of *Charity*. It was that, more than anything else, which made him the man of the people, and caused his death to be universally lamented. Nobody had more than himself the burden of human misery on his heart. That trait is conspicuous in his writings and his life throughout all his political variations. He was the poet of mercy; and was the means, by his eloquent pleadings, of saving many a head from the scaffold. In 1834 Barbès, the great agitator, was condemned to death by a court martial. There remained no hope for him but in the king's pardon. Louis Philippe, a few days before, had lost a little granddaughter, and almost at the same time a grandson had been born to him. Victor Hugo was at the theatre when the news of Barbès's condemnation reached him. He at once took his pen, and wrote to the king these touching lines:—

"Par votre ange, envolée ainsi qu'une colombe,
 Par ce royal enfant, doux et frère roseau,
 Grâce, encore une fois ! Grâce au nom de la tombe,
 Grâce au nom du berceau !"¹

Louis Philippe granted the pardon. Many a time has Victor Hugo used his pen, with the same success, for such causes as this.

Those who wish to know how far Victor Hugo had understood the law of charity, which is the golden law of the gospel, must read his "*Les Misérables*." Indeed, in his advocacy of the poor and the accursed, he goes too far, as it was natural for him to do, whenever he engaged in some theory. In his view, man is good by nature; let him alone, do not keep him under the yoke of ignorance and tyranny, and there will be an end to crime and misery. But where do ignorance and tyranny come from? If all men are good by nature, whence came the first slave-master? This is the weak point of Hugo's system, which he had borrowed from Rousseau.

However, we cannot refrain from admiring the unconquered optimism of the great poet. The great principle, in fact, which runs throughout his writings is this: There is a possibility of regeneration for every human being, however degraded he may be, and the means of that regeneration is Love. Jean Valjean, the convict, is won to a good and honest life by the love of Bishop Myriel; Quasimodo, the hateful monster, becomes a good man when Esmeralda pities him; Triboulet's love for his daughter washes him from his crimes; the love of Marion Delorme for Didier, of Lucrezia Borgia for her son, gives those two women a new maidenhood; they are rehabilitated by it. This principle is borrowed from the gospel. A heathen writer could not have discovered it. Whether he consented to it or not, Victor Hugo was a Christian poet, and one may prophesy that those works of his that will last and become classical are those that have upon them the touch of that divine light which came down to the poet from the cross of Calvary.

III.

We must now conclude. What has been the influence of Victor Hugo on the religion of the French people?

Our readers will have already gathered from the facts we have

¹ "By your angel, flown away as a dove — By this royal child, sweet and frail like a reed — Mercy, once more ! Mercy, for the tomb's sake, — Mercy, for the cradle's sake !"

noted that Victor Hugo was not, properly speaking, an initiator. He was a mirror, but not a light. He took up the ideas and aspirations of the generations through which he lived, and rendered them in magnificent language. He was set on fire by others, and, in his turn, contributed to the increase of the flame which had kindled him. He was born in a skeptical age, and he was skeptical. Yet France was never atheistic, not even in the time of the Terror, and Victor Hugo could not be anything but a deist. If he had been a stronger mind, — or rather, if he had been touched by the Divine Spirit, and had taken the lead of a reformatory movement in France, — no doubt he would have succeeded. But he loved popularity too much, and perhaps other things also, to become an humble disciple of Jesus Christ. He was led by others rather than leading them.

Yet his influence on the nation has been immense. He has served in God's providence to fix in the minds of the people that minimum of religious truths without which a nation could not live: God, conscience, charity. Against the positivist school, which said, like Pilate, "What is truth?" and cared not to inquire whether there was a God or not; against the modern school of French scientists, — Claude Bernard, Paul Bert, and others, — who say they have not found God at the edge of their dissecting-knives; against the gross and demoralizing literature of the age, Victor Hugo was raised as a barrier. His "*Les Misérables*" will outlive Zola's "*Assommoir*."

Victor Hugo's popularity did not really begin until after the *coup d'état*. He was never so loved by the people as when he was away in his little island, and then his influence was truly providential. The second empire had for its motto: "Pleasure and gain;" but the exile of Guernsey shouted across the sea: "Beware! Your pleasures are rotten, your money is filthy. One thing is uppermost: Duty." He kept up the heart of the French nation during those years of triumphant vice. If their character has not been more debased by the second empire *régime*, we owe it greatly to Hugo's example, and to his courageous and eloquent protests. When the writer, as a child, saw the imperial *cortège* in the streets of a southern city, with the glittering armors, the gilded generals, the pomps and splendors of sovereignty, he was well nigh made enthusiastic; but when, a few days afterwards, he read the forbidden book, "*Les Châtiments*," by the great exile, his first impressions were changed. He understood, and so did many others, that there is something greater than SUCCESS, and that is, OBEDIENCE TO MORAL LAW.

Will Victor Hugo's influence be sufficient to prevent the invasion of atheism? We believe so. France may have many great men, but she will never have another poet like him. It is the feeling of many literary men that Victor Hugo has extracted from the French language all that it was capable of producing, so that future poets will be compelled to imitate him, but will never surpass him. And as the poetry of a nation is the basis and source of popular belief, we think that, as long as Victor Hugo's "Contemplations" shall be read and recited in the schools and in the homes, materialism (which, moreover, is absolutely contrary to the French mind) will have no chance of conquering a majority in France. The fact that M. Lockroy, the intimate friend of Victor Hugo, and the second husband of his son's wife, — M. Lockroy, who lived with the poet these last fifteen years, and who is his testamentary executor, has been elected the first on the list of the thirty-eight Deputies of Paris (4th October), shows that the great city still mourns her poet, and honors his memory as she did his person.

Christians ought to be thankful that God gave such a man to France. On the whole, his long career has tended to intensify among the people of France the religious tendencies inherited from their fathers. We may lament that he did not go farther, but we may hope that he was a forerunner, and that God will grant to Victor Hugo's nation other men, who will go farther than he towards the light, as he himself went farther than Voltaire in the direction of religious truth.

Reuben Saillens.

PARIS, FRANCE.

SOCIALISM.

"COMMUNISM means barbarism, but Socialism means, or wishes to mean, coöperation and community of interests, sympathy, the giving to the hands not so large a share as to the brains, but a larger share than hitherto in the wealth they must combine to produce: means, in short, the practical application of Christianity to life, and has in it the secret of an orderly and benign reconstruction." These words, taken from Mr. James Russell Lowell's remarkable address on Democracy, point to a distinction between allied movements, which it is necessary for us, at the outset, to consider carefully, if we would avoid the vague, absurd, and self-contradictory ideas which are too often found in papers and ad-

dressess on Socialism. What is the kernel of Socialism? What is its organic idea, about which all others must be grouped, and in which alone may be found an explanation of this world-wide movement? It is the search for distributive justice, — for justice in the distribution of those material economic goods which serve as the basis of the higher spiritual life of man. Its aim is to inaugurate a system in which recompense shall more nearly correspond to service rendered than is at present the case. But this is not all. Socialism is social system. It is a belief in far-reaching coöperation of man with his fellows. It implies that the great Architect of the universe never designed us to lead a self-centred, self-absorbed existence, but meant that we should find completeness and fullness of satisfaction only in that broader stream of life which, beginning away back thousands of years ago in primeval man, and leading thence to God himself as its fountain and source, has flowed on unceasingly during all the ages that have gone and has come down to us in rich and varied development through an ever-enlarging humanity. It is the opposite of individualism, which is social disintegration, — which is Cain asking indignantly, “Am I my brother’s keeper?” — which, in our time, is anarchy and dynamite. Taken in this strict sense we are nearly all of us Socialists. But there is a more restricted meaning of the word which would exclude an overwhelming majority even of the best Christians and of the world’s ablest thinkers. Men generally recognize the necessity of combination, and perceive that certain functions must be transferred to those compulsory coöperative associations which we call state, township, municipality, but they are inclined to reserve the larger part of what may be called our economic life, — the life which has to do with the acquisition, distribution, and consumption of material goods, — they are inclined, I say, to reserve the larger part of this life to the individual and to voluntary combinations of individuals. It is believed, even by those who at the call of duty would sell all that they have and give to the poor, that in this way men in society can attain their highest perfection. But there are those who deny this, holding that both the production and distribution of economic goods should be transferred to organized social bodies, — to federal government, to the state, and to its various subdivisions. This carries with it the ownership by the people, in their collective capacity, of the means of production, and also the public direction of production, while products, in so far as they consist of articles for consumption and enjoyment, still remain private property. In its

pure form it recognizes differences in capacities, and proposes to mete out reward in proportion to services to society. Saint-Simon, its earliest representative, furnishes its motto: "From each one according to his capacity; to each one according to his works."¹

One kind of Socialism is Communism, which finds justice in equality. Holding still to the coöperative commonwealth, its adherents maintain that the demands of social ethics are met only when the needs of all are regarded as of equal weight. Louis Blanc, purest and noblest of Communists, has given us its essence in these words: "From each one according to his capacity; to each one according to his needs." High ground is taken in defense of this position. Says Louis Blanc: "Man has received of nature certain faculties, — faculties of loving, of knowing, of acting. But these have by no means been given him that he should exercise them solitarily; they are but the supreme indication of that which each one owes to the society of which he is a member; and this indication each one bears written in his organization in letters of fire. If you are twice as strong as your neighbor it is a proof that nature has destined you to bear a double burden. If your intelligence is superior, it is a sign that your mission is to scatter about you more light. Weakness is creditor of strength; ignorance of learning. The more a man can (*peut*), the more he ought (*doit*); and this is the meaning of those beautiful words of the gospel: 'Whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant.'"²

Still another theory to which the term Socialism is applied is Anarchism. This is, however, an anti-social theory, as it attacks social organization, — not merely the present form of industrial society, but any compulsory combination among men whatever. All control of man over man is regarded by the adherents of anarchy as oppression. Anarchism means unlimited *laissez-faire*. It is the logical outcome of individualism. "One of Jefferson's maxims," says a writer in one of the organs of the Anarchists, "was, 'The best government is that which governs least.' If this is true,

" 'The very best government of all
Is that which governs not at all.' "

Holding that government is an evil, the Anarchist will not admit that it is a necessary one, but wishes to abolish it altogether. It is plain that anarchy can have little fellowship with Socialism,

¹ See Ely's *French and German Socialism*, chapter iv. New York, 1883.

² *Idem*, page 121.

which regards the state as a necessary good, as one of the greatest goods, — as, in fact, the grandest of all earthly institutions, and that one in which, and through which, our race must attain its highest perfection. Yet the two are classed together, and the reasons for this are not difficult to discover. First, both are labor movements, and people as a rule little given to critical discrimination are attracted rather by superficial resemblance than by radical differences which lie a little below the surface. In the second place, both often wish to make room for regenerated society by a violent overthrow of existing institutions, and thus find in their revolutionary tendencies points of contact. This is particularly the case with extremists of both classes. Destruction appears at times so all-important to them in the present crisis that they can temporarily sink other differences as of minor significance. In the third place, even Anarchists often believe that the future form of society will be coöperative, though devoid of regulative force or central authority. They maintain that individuals will voluntarily work together in local groups or communes, and that these coöperative and autonomous communes will freely unite in federations for common purposes. The principle of authority is, in their eyes, the root of all evil. It is thus that most of the Anarchists consider themselves as Communists, and call themselves Communistic Anarchists.

We have, then, under consideration three forms of what has been called the economic philosophy of the suffering classes. And the word philosophy is well chosen, for it reveals the depth of ignorance which still prevails in regard to Socialism and Communism. It might, indeed, be imagined, from the frightened allusions to street-car riots, dynamite explosions, general incendiarism, and universal plunder which often accompany the mention of Socialism, that it is a word used to express a devilish combination of all crimes, and not various theories of the fundamental principles of industrial society. It is evident that there is nothing directly sinful in any one of these theories, — Socialism, Communism, Anarchism, — though the last-named is apt to become a practical denial of human brotherhood, and denial of human brotherhood is practical atheism, and usually has its legitimate conclusion in theoretical atheism. Atheism and individualism, for example, went hand in hand in the era of the French Revolution, when at one time ordinary combinations of laborers, and even of capitalists, were forbidden by law; and now individualism and atheism support and sustain each other in John Most

and his followers. Communism and Socialism have the closest affinity with Christianity, and the strongest objection to be urged against them is that their ideal is too high for the life of earth. While, then, there may be nothing to be urged on ethical grounds against those theories in themselves, we may find, on the one hand, that there are practical difficulties standing in the way of their realization; and, on the other, that certain plans formed with a view to their attainment are morally wrong. Such is often the case.

Let us, however, at this point consider briefly the progress of Socialism. Some twenty years ago a French scholar wrote an account of Socialism, in which he treated the topic as one chiefly of historical interest, as a system of exploded and outlived errors. The ink was scarcely dry on his paper before Socialism again awakened from what proved to be but a sleep, and in France it has since then continued to grow in power. At that same time, while people had not yet ceased protesting that the patient, phlegmatic German workman could never be moved by Utopias, Ferdinand Lassalle was laying the foundations of that Social Democratic party which now causes the monarchs of Germany to sit uneasily on their thrones. Ten years ago English laborers were regarded as so preëminently practical and sensible as never to be led away by the speculations of Continental dreamers and the allurements of an earthly paradise, while to-day all English periodicals are full of Socialism; several clubs and organizations, embracing learned and gifted men, are devoting themselves to its propagation; an English political leader like Joseph Chamberlain is adopting some of its radical demands and making them part of the platform of a rapidly growing party; and the prediction is ventured that the social revolution will first be accomplished in England.

Five years ago men were boasting that the pure air of republican America was so uncongenial as to afford no nourishment to that imported European social product which proposed to substitute state help for the independent activity so characteristic of our genius and so dearly prized among us. To-day the number of its adherents is increasing with astounding rapidity and is already of considerable proportions. It is making its way into powerful organizations composed largely of native Americans, and the number of Socialistic periodicals published in English is almost daily increasing, while the most successful semi-Socialistic book of the age was written by an American, and was first published in

New York city. I refer, of course, to Henry George's "Progress and Poverty."

Now I wish to say something about the mission of the church at the present time. Why should the church have any mission in this matter? it may be asked. Because the welfare of men is something which must necessarily concern all Christians; because, as no one can be a Christian who lives for himself, so every Christian in so far as he is animated by the Christ-spirit — and only in so far is he Christian — is earnestly solicitous for the welfare of his fellow-men. He is bound, then, to give heed to a new social system pressing forward which professes to be able to make men better and happier, — not merely to supplant want and poverty by abundance, but to furnish a more adequate basis for the development of heart, soul, and mind than the world has yet seen. There is still another very special reason why the church should concern herself with social science. She is not obliged to look at these questions from the standpoint of the rich and powerful. To her it belongs preëminently to take a righteous attitude in all questions of the day, untrammelled by all worldly considerations, and bold with the fearlessness of God's champion. She has never failed when she has done this, for whenever she has stood for absolute right she has withstood the assaults of the devil, and has emerged with greater strength from each conflict; and her days of humiliation have been the days of compromise, when with unfaith she has truckled to the powers of earth and bargained with the world, the flesh, and the devil. My friend, Professor Macy, of Iowa College, Grinnell, expresses clearly the duty of the church with respect to social science in these words: —

"The preacher, in an important sense, is to be the originator of true social science; his work is to render possible such a science.

"The physical scientist needs no preacher. There is an external material thing which compels belief. For the most part men have no selfish interest in believing other than the truth in regard to the material world. Those who devote themselves to the study of matter are led naturally into a truth-loving and truth-telling spirit, and they can laugh at the preacher. But those who devote themselves to the study of the conflicting interests of men have on their hands altogether a different task. There is no external material thing to solve their doubts, and men prefer to believe that which is not true; and when they believe the truth they often think it best to pretend to believe the false.

"Falsehood, deception, lying, and above all an honest and dogged belief in error, — these are athwart the path which might lead to a real social science. And who can tackle these better than the preacher?"

Socialism is dangerous only in so far as it is animated by an unchristian spirit, since it is otherwise simply a theory of society which must be debated and accepted or rejected on its merits. It is plain, then, that the duty of the church is to seek to gain influence with the masses through which it is proposed to realize these various social ideals.

The power of the Protestant church is undoubtedly weak where it ought to be strongest. Let us examine very briefly the actual condition of things.

The Catholic Church has ever provided largely for the poor, and at the time of the Reformation vast treasures were in her possession which had been received from those who desired to benefit the sufferers of earth. It has been estimated that one third of the soil of England belonged to religious bodies at the time Henry the Eighth began the confiscation of church property. Now, how did this happen? Why, it was due to an impulse received from Christ, the Head of the church, and this force which our Saviour breathed into the church permeated it through and through at the beginning.

The earliest Christian institution is the order of deacons, which may be traced back to the seven chosen by the apostles to minister to the poor and needy. Says Dean Stanley: "It was the oldest ecclesiastical function; the most ancient of the holy orders. It was grounded on the elevation of the care of the poor to the rank of a religious service. It was the proclamation of the truth that social questions are to take the first place among religious instruction. It was the recognition of political economy as part of religious knowledge. The deacons became the first preachers of Christianity. They were the first evangelists, because they were first to find their way to the homes of the poor. They were the constructors of the most solid and durable of the institutions of Christianity, namely, the institutions of charity and beneficence." It is worthy of notice in passing that Stanley's master, Dr. Arnold, often expressed an earnest desire to see the order of deacons revived as a democratic institution with respect to the hierarchy in the church. The order of deacons ought, he thought, to be something between the clergy and the laity, the deacons following secular callings, and thus "enabling us" — to use his words — "to

see that union of the Christian ministry with the common business of life which would be such a benefit both to the clergy and the laity."

The church at the beginning of its history was more than democratic; it was a social democracy, and for a time pure communism obtained in the external as well as in the internal relations of the church. Neither said any of the first Christians that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common." There were no cruel social lines among them, separating one from another and condemning to loneliness those unable to stand the test of some artificial shibboleth, and forming hostile classes with diverse interests and different manner of thought and feeling. Preferences and affinities there doubtless were, but no social lines. How could there be? They were brothers, and "the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul." This is what unworldliness means, but social lines are identical with fashion and worldliness. This is why it was so hard for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven. They were and are the natural representatives of the worldly spirit, and it is a greater load which must be lifted before a change — a regeneration — can take place. Yet there was no compromise with wealth for the sake of what it might do either with Christ or among his disciples. When the rich young man came to the promised Messiah of his people, seeking salvation, our Lord, with divine insight, went right to the heart of things: "Renounce the world," — not in a vague and general way, but — "sell all that thou hast and give to the poor." The young man went away sorrowful, for he had great possessions. Thus it was that Christ could sigh for the rich as those who had great burdens to carry. "Verily, I say unto you that a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven." And I apprehend that as large a measure of the grace of God is required to save the wealthy to-day as two thousand years ago, but to enter into a church organization has often become a very different thing from entering into the kingdom of heaven. We thus see what was the character of the early church, and, I take it, this spirit has remained in the Catholic Church more largely than in others because as an organization it reaches back farther into the days of primitive Christianity. It is doubtless true that gifts were perverted, and that wealth which had been set apart for the great body of the Church and for the elevation of men had in too many cases been used to support idle beggars and lascivious friars. There

has been much controversy about the contributions of the monasteries to the poor, but, notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary, Thorold Rogers, doubtless the best authority on this subject, states what he considers to be the facts of the case in these words: "That the monasteries were renowned for their almsgiving is certain. . . . But some orders were under special duties. The Hospitallers were bound to relieve casual destitution. . . . So, again, the preaching and begging friars were the nurses of the sick. . . . There were houses where doles of bread and beer were given to all wayfarers, houses where the sick were tended, clothed, and fed, particularly the lepers. . . . In the universal destruction of these establishments, the hardest instruments of Henry's purposes interceded for the retention of some amongst the most meritorious, useful, and unblemished of them."

The early democratic and communistic spirit has never quite died out of the Catholic Church, and in our day she finds room within her organization for so radical a Christian Socialist as Baron von Ketteler, Bishop of Mainz. The Catholic Church now, in spite of her non-progressive character, in spite of all her iniquitous alliances with princes for the repression of freedom in the days of her degeneracy, still largely holds on to the masses, and maintains what we may call a feeling with them. She, better than many others, understands their aims, purposes, and aspirations. Three illustrations of this may be taken from the history of the last few months. When the insulted girls employed in a large New York factory revolted against the misuse a foreman made of his position and quit their employment, a Catholic priest was chosen as an arbitrator, and when later the employer broke his promise to submit to the decision of the arbitrators, this priest uttered words of a righteous indignation. I know of no other Christian minister in New York who ventured a word of protest. In a Protestant paper — and in that one which particularly tries to be fair with the laborers — I have seen cruelly unjust aspersions cast upon the largest labor organization in the country, the Knights of Labor, while the only fair article about this same order in the religious press which has come to my notice was in a Catholic paper, and written by a Catholic priest. It was not a difference of good will so much as a difference of knowledge. The Catholic revealed an acquaintance with the movements of the masses — the Protestant, ignorance.

But a few weeks since, when the Knights of Labor wished to present a piece of silver to one of their successful political can-

didates, a Catholic priest was chosen to make the presentation speech.¹

Now, as a Protestant, I naturally think that Protestant Christianity is on the whole nearer the true path, but it seems to me that the church organizations which represent it may in many cases be traced back to founders preëminently "of the world," — nobles, princes, and scholars. As a rule, it seems to me that these ecclesiastical Protestant organizations are comparatively new, and are the product of a spirit not of the people. In other words, Protestant ecclesiasticism seems to me aristocratic rather than popular, and it does not appear to have carried down to our time, so well as Catholic ecclesiasticism, the early communistic spirit of Apostolic Christianity. This may in part explain the fact that the Protestant clergy are, as a body, so far away from the masses and understand so little their manner of thought and of expression and their aspirations that they repel them when they wish to draw them, that they do them cruel injustice even when they strive to be fair. Thus it has come to pass that not one religious weekly of prominence understands these questions of labor well enough to talk to laborers satisfactorily about them.

The remedy for this state of things is obvious, namely, better information, and more careful study of social problems. To-day there are thousands writing and preaching about Socialism who never read two works by Socialists in all their lives. To-day there are — one is tempted to say — tens of thousands writing and talking about the labor movement who never read either the constitution of a trades union or six consecutive numbers of a labor paper, — who never even saw half a dozen of the hundreds of labor papers in the country, and who have no personal acquaintance with a single representative of this movement. Everything said is based on hearsay and reports of enemies. To-day thousands of men and women in small communities scattered through the United States are living, as they say, in the warmth and in the light of Communism. Yet I will venture to say that not one in ten of the writers on Socialism in the religious press ever visited a single one of these communities. In view of all these facts, is the lack of influence of the church a matter of surprise? Why, this is not common honesty to condemn men unheard; but long custom has hardened our conscience in these matters. If, then, I may be permitted to give advice to church members interested in these topics,

¹ It was at a Catholic fair at Naugatuck, and Father Fagan was the priest. See *Workman's Advocate*, November 22, 1885.

it is this : Take one or more of the periodicals representing various phases of the labor movement, — like John Swinton's paper, "The Chicago Alarm," the "Haverhill [Mass.] Laborer," the "New Yorker Volkszeitung," the "English Commonweal;" become acquainted with the leaders and also the rank and file of the labor army; join worthy organizations like the Knights of Labor, use your influence in these for good, put your shoulder to the wheel, and help them to move their load. This has not been done in the past, and I believe it is true that in no great country has organized labor — and, in fact, the entire labor movement — been so isolated, so shut off from the influence of learned, gifted, Christian men, as in the United States. Yet it is precisely in organized labor that Thorold Rogers sees the only hope for the artisan factory and urban classes;¹ and, while not prepared to go so far, I must confess that I see in our labor organizations one of the most hopeful signs for our future moral, social, and economic development. In England, men of whom our age may be proud, men like Thomas Hughes, Charles Kingsley, Frederick Denison Maurice, E. Vansittart Neal, and John Malcolm Ludlow have gone down to the laborer and have taken him by the hand and said: Let us walk together. Through them a good influence has been brought to bear on the entire English labor movement, and it is largely on that account that it occupies so high an ethical plane. It is on that account that English coöperation, the successor to Christian Socialism, has become infused with a spirit higher than that of mere buying and selling and has achieved a grand success.

I must point out one typical case of omission, one of many lost opportunities on the part of the church. When the laborers of Massachusetts, fifty years ago, formed a trades union in Boston, they seem to have had an attachment to the church which does not exist now. They desired to have religious services on the Fourth of July and applied to twenty-one churches for the use of their structures, but every one refused the request, and not a "clergyman could be had to ask a blessing."²

I have indeed come across so many instances of neglected opportunities to bring the church into union with the movements of labor that it was not surprising to me last summer to hear that among the young workingmen in Haverhill, in good old New England, not one in ten attended church; that one who did so was considered an odd fellow; nor can I say that I was surprised when

¹ See his *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*. New York. 1884.

² Cheronny's *Historical Development of the Labor Question*, pp. 231, 232.

told by a member of the working-classes in New York that not one in fifty of his associates attended church. This same man assured me that Christian ideas could be presented to the laborers in their gatherings, but not under that name. Church, religion, God, Christianity, he told me, stood to the laborers for everything that was mean, hateful, and tyrannical. Yet when these laborers who reject Christianity as it is in our churches speak of Christ, it is often with touching reverence as a noble soul who sympathized with the trials of their class, and when they denounce religion they will affirm at times, "We are the only true Christians;" and I do believe that among the masses in America there never was such a hunger and thirst for real Christianity as to-day. What they complain of in substance is not that there is too much Christianity, but that there is too little; not that people are Christians, but that there is such a divergence between profession and practice; that the church has become "of the world;" that it has been captured by the rich and made a part of the mechanism of fashion; that pews have doors and locks, and that the aisles are guarded by ushers not merely to show people in, but to keep them out; that church privileges are sold, — at times even literally auctioned off for money.

Now in all that I have said about the church, Protestant and Catholic, I would not be misunderstood. I beg it to be remembered on the one hand that the limits of this paper compel me to leave much unsaid; on the other, that I am no theologian. I simply express the honest convictions to which the study of social science has brought me; convictions to which I would doubtless have never come in any other way. Nor must it be supposed that I am disheartened about the condition of Protestant Christianity. At times I am a little despondent, but, as I tell my friends among the laborers who maintain that as the church is supported by wealth she must necessarily cringe to wealth, there always has been and there is now in the church a conscience to which you can appeal, a more sensitive conscience than can be found in any other body, and she is still the best friend the poor man has. And is not the recent "Interdenominational Congress" a most hopeful sign, an augury pointing to a new reformation within the church, — a great popular and democratic movement? And when this comes there can be no doubt that Christ will, through the church, again appeal to the masses, and that the common people will hear Him gladly.

Let us look at our topic from another point of view. What

does it mean that men of extraordinary ability and of devotion paralleled only in the history of the Christian church have advocated Socialism? Is the cause to be sought in some fundamental and evil principle like envy? That is incredible, and can be alleged only by ignorance or malice. No, as Bismarck several years ago acknowledged in the Imperial Parliament of Germany, there must be at least a kernel of truth in these theories. It is conceivable that the most gifted men should be so absorbed in the contemplation of a partial truth as to lose sight of a larger whole, for this is a common historical occurrence, but that they should invent a tissue of undiluted falsehood and induce hundreds of thousands in the most highly civilized lands of the world to follow them year after year is impossible. Now it is for Christians to put away prejudice, and to ascertain this truth, whatever it may be, and help to make it part of our public economic life.

First, then, we must grant, without reservation, that the present form of society is a most imperfect one. Scarcely a political economist of note is likely to deny this. Our social economic mechanism never works very well, and is continually getting so much out of order that we fear it is going to break down entirely, as indeed it does often enough for hundreds of thousands. It might be compared to a lame man who limps along in a poor, awkward kind of way, until falling he is finally assisted to his feet by a passer-by and can continue his journey only when supported by a crutch, — a shattered crutch which groans and creaks so frightfully that the wretched fellow is in constant terror lest it should give way and he should fall and smash every bone in his body. Over half a million idle hands seeking employment; idle land and unused natural resources; millions upon millions of capital vainly seeking for avenues through which it may become fruitful; people crying with hunger because too much wheat is grown; people shivering with cold because too much warm clothing has been brought on the market. Such is the undeniable situation: strange phenomena! Long ago John Stuart Mill, in opposing Communism, said that if our present forms of economic life could not be improved, and it were necessary to make a choice between that and Communism, all the difficulties, great and small, of Communism would be but as dust in the balance.

Yes, our economic mechanism works imperfectly, and is enormously wasteful. Have you, the reader of these lines, thought of the incalculable wastes of our social system; for example, of private competition in the supply of gas, and still more in our railroad

world? Has it occurred to you that from the standpoint of society every needless parallel railroad line is a waste of vast resources which ought to be utilized for the benefit of the people? Did it ever occur to you that when two railroad trains were run to do what one might equally well accomplish there was a waste of economic goods which might have brought comfort to many a distressed family? An authority in these matters has told me that he supposed it would be possible to construct a railroad system, which would answer the purposes of the people of the United States equally well, for a thousand millions less than it would cost now to build our present system. A thousand millions of waste! or an equivalent of comfortable homes for a million families — five millions and more of people — one tenth of our population!

The truth in Socialism and Communism does not lie, however, solely in negation. They emphasize in needed manner certain positive principles. There are in economic and industrial society several principles, and the welfare of the people depends upon their harmonious development. These principles may be called the individual, the social, the communistic, the associative, and the caritative. The individual principle is that which regulates private industrial activities, — private economics, if the expression may be used. Its propelling motive ought to be self-interest, — not, however, selfishness; the first is consistent with love to one's neighbor, the second is anarchical. The social principle is that of Socialism, and there is a great deal of Socialism in every organized society, and to avoid sinful waste of nature's bounties, it ought, in many cases, to be increased. When the state employs postal agents of various grades, it strives, and should strive, in increasing degree, to exact from each one service in proportion to capacity, and to mete out reward in proportion to services rendered. This is the only sound principle of civil administration. One of the chief causes of advancement in the modern state is the extension of Socialism, and it must be borne in mind that the distinction between self-help and state-help is apt to be misleading. The state is not something apart from the people; it is the people, and certainly, in a republic, state-help is only one form of self-help, and in learning how to use this kind of self-help men have grown in intelligence, discipline, and self-restraint, and thus have promoted the development of civilization. One of its chief functions is to keep the way open for individual initiation and activity, and to furnish to individuals, as has well been said, "the conditions of development, but not the development itself." As a matter of fact, it is

a common phenomenon of our life to see the avenues to economic well-being blocked against individuals by other individuals and private associations. What has been said of the social principle holds largely with reference to the communistic principle: From each one according to his capacity; to each one according to his needs. The extension of this principle has made our life fuller and richer. Examples, when it obtains, are public parks and public schools.

I may remark, in passing, that one chief sphere for the application of Communism is the church. As it is the only principle which we can think of as governing the kingdom of heaven, it ought to prevail in the internal economy of that body which represents the kingdom of heaven on earth, the Christian church. Each one must contribute in proportion to his means, and receive in proportion to his needs. It is monstrous to think of buying a favored place in God's house.

Simon, the sorcerer, once thought to purchase a privilege by money, but he had not grasped the first fundamental principle of Christianity, and Peter said unto him: "Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the gift of God may be purchased with money. . . . Thou art in the gall of bitterness and in the bond of iniquity." We have too often introduced the principle of the external economic world into the Christian church, and have, under various pleas, tried to disguise from ourselves the nature of the transaction, and have thus hardened our hearts. How shall people be saved unless they hear the Word, and how shall they hear it unless they can find a place in God's temple? Is it not trying to sell the kingdom of heaven for money to take money for a seat or pew in the church? And when the kingdom of heaven is put up at auction, of what can we think but the money-changers in the Temple at Jerusalem? They might have argued that the rents increased the revenues of the Temple, perhaps that these revenues were used for charitable purposes, but all such sophistries were dispelled instantaneously before the pure gaze of Christ. No; we must establish the principle that there is positively no connection between money-gift and privilege in the kingdom of heaven, and that you are entitled to no seat at all because you contribute even \$5,000 a year to a church. Very likely some widow's mite is more in the sight of God.

The associative principle refers to the economic principle of voluntary associations like joint-stock corporations, — also coöperative enterprise. Our civilization is scarcely conceivable without

a large sphere for voluntary economic associations, but it must be limited, and its proper limitation is one of the pressing questions of the hour.

Finally, the caritative principle (from *caritas*, love) is the principle of brotherly love; it is private beneficence. It takes consideration of individual, special, and local needs; smooths over many a hard place for the unfortunate, and beautifies our life. It manifests itself where private individuals establish hospitals, schools, libraries, reading-rooms, prizes for the encouragement of excellence, pleasure-grounds for the people, museums and galleries, and it is happily nowhere more active than in the United States. It elevates and ennobles life, and raises the race to higher ethical possibilities.

It then becomes the duty of every Christian to study these questions, and to attempt in society to secure for each principle its own sphere of action, for it is likely to become dangerous when this is denied. It is possible to secure the harmonious action of these various principles, because our industrial and economic society is not a product governed by natural laws, but is an artificial human growth. It is what it is largely because men wish it to be such. It is the product of human desires, human will, and human knowledge, and recent economic investigations place upon society a large share of the responsibility for its actual conditions. That is, as a people, we are, to a greater or less extent, responsible, for the fact that there are to-day say one thousand men walking the streets of Cincinnati without work. My words are well weighed. Personal faults, as sloth, improvidence, intemperance, are responsible for much suffering, but they can by no means account for all poverty.

It is true that a way out of the slough cannot be discovered at once. To discover such a way will require the profoundest investigation and the best thought of our time. And let me say that a society — the American Economic Association — has been formed to encourage social and economic studies, and that it appeals to a Christian public for funds to enable it to carry on the great work it hopes to perform.

The greatest danger for our future comes from an exaggerated range which certain writers, teachers, and politicians are attempting to secure for the individual principle. To this exaggeration we apply the term individualism, and it reaches all the way from Herbert Spencer to John Most, and finds a welcome support in more than one of our colleges. In its extreme form it reaches, as

I have already said, Anarchism, and if any one doubts the influence and the tendency of the political science of the individualists, let him read "The Alarm," of Chicago, and "Liberty," of Boston, and he will find well-known names quoted in defense of no government. Now the Anarchists, as represented by the Chicago Internationalists and their *confrères*, are the dangerous element among us. That paper, whose very name is a perpetual incitement to kindle a universal conflagration — "Die Fackel" ("The Torch") — printed in smoke and flame, is anarchistic. "The Alarm," — significant name, — glorifying dynamite and regretting the mildness of past insurrections, is anarchistic. Those who cry "no mercy" for the future; those who shout "Away with the family, away with religion, away with the state;" those who are teaching revolutionary masses the manufacture of dynamite and the use of arms, — these are Anarchists. And they are conspirators! They hold that the end justifies the means,¹ and they are seeking to penetrate into the peaceful labor-organizations to win new converts to their creed of destruction. Every failure of labor to gain its ends by peaceful means is hailed with joy as a proof of the utter futility of all efforts towards amelioration within the state; every miscarriage of justice is a welcome evidence of the inherent injustice of government; finally, every moral humiliation of husband or wife, revealed in divorce suits, is greeted with satisfaction, as an illustration of the rottenness of existing society, and a manifestation of the natural fruits of authority at all times and in all places. We might, then, be tempted to answer the question, "*Que faire?*" — What are you going to do about it? — with "WELCOME, SOCIALISM," as a necessary and beneficial reaction against that individualism which has gone through society, carrying its Cain's curse with it. When the doctrine was first broached — each one for himself in economic life, for that best promotes the interest of all — we thought that we had made a wonderful discovery in separating a great realm of our life from the domain of ethics. But on that day Satan won a great victory, and there was joy in hell. Where has it brought us? Selfishness and selfness have worked as sin always must, — evil, and evil only. Each one for himself! and our forests are hewn down, and our mountain sides are denuded, and a deluge rushes over Cincinnati; human lives are lost, millions of property are destroyed, and ten thousand people are without homes. Each one for himself! and disease and pestilence

¹ I would not by any means say that every Anarchist believes this, but many affirm it without hesitation.

spread from neglected city slums, and sweep a vast region, carrying down the innocent with the guilty. Each one for himself! and husband goes his way and wife hers, each with their own property, and the divorce question and individualism in the family become a problem of our time.

Yet, after all, we must not say, Welcome, Socialism, but, Welcome the good that is in it to our salvation.

Old economic forms and institutions have passed away, and we are now in a transition state. All is new: freedom is new; steam power is new; our great cities are new; our vast productive power is new. We must, and we shall, learn how to utilize these new forces of our age in institutions partly new, partly remodeled, and then we shall, for the first time, begin to reap the full fruits of the marvelous material progress of this century in an accelerated moral progress — and then, — and then, in the enjoyment of blessing, of which our fathers dreamed, we shall have entered upon a new, glorious, and unparalleled era in the history of human civilization.

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THE POSSIBILITIES OF ITALIAN RELIGIOUS REFORM.

I. EVANGELICAL SEPARATIST MOVEMENTS.

NEITHER religious reform nor irreligious reaction was any part of the purpose of the Italian revolution. Indeed, the leaders in that great national uprising, especially in its earlier stages, were, for the most part, at great pains to avoid all unnecessary complications between the political issues directly at stake and those religious interests which were, of necessity, more or less indirectly involved in them.

To those who understand but superficially the conditions of that revolution there seems, therefore, no reason to suppose that it has been or that it will yet be followed by any important change in the religious fealty or character of the Italian people. Notably has this ever been the case with Americans, who, being accustomed to regard politics and religion as two distinct and wholly independent interests, have — with rare individual exceptions — either

wholly ignored the ecclesiastical results of this revolution or very greatly undervalued their importance; or they have utterly misinterpreted their significance.

And yet to those who understood the Italian character, Italian institutions, and Italian politics, it was even antecedently plain that some profound and probably permanent disturbance of the religious traditions of that people would result from that revolution; that some great change in the relations of Italian Christianity to the ecclesiastical institutions and to the religious convictions of other peoples was inherently involved in the very conditions under which that revolution must take place.

This view of Italian politics was suggested to the writer by Mr. George Ticknor, and it was confirmed by no less an authority than Baron Bunsen, so early as 1857. The latter — than whom no European publicist of his day was more intimately acquainted with Italy and with the various influences which were then contending for the shaping of her future — in conversation with the writer, in May of that year, expressed his conviction that another and a successful attempt to break the Austrian power in Italy was yet to come; and, at the same time, clearly pointed out the ecclesiastical consequences which would, almost inevitably, follow upon such success.

The writer had, subsequently, abundant opportunity to verify in person these previsions; and also to draw his own very decided conclusions both of the religious possibilities now before the people of Italy and of the religious duty of others towards them at this time. He has lately submitted to the readers of the "*Andover Review*" an outline analysis of the relations of Italian politics to the Roman papacy and the grounds of his belief that the papacy must shortly cease to be.¹ Some account is here offered of the various theories of religious reform which are under consideration, and the several types of reformed Christianity which have been pressed upon the Italians in lieu of the institutions which are passing thus away.

Nor is the subject one of barren interest to us. The ecclesiastical and religious future of Italy closely intertwines itself with the religious interests of every people of Western Christendom; and any light which may guide Christian philanthropy to help the unfolding of that future in such wise as to subserve the largest, noblest interests of our own, or to save us from even doing harm all unwittingly, is useful in its day.

¹ See *Andover Review*, August, 1884, pp. 157-172.

The conclusions to which the writer has been forced to come will, he is well aware, array themselves against the plans of some enthusiastic friends of Italy and trespass upon many *à priori* views of duty; but the fault, he respectfully submits, is in the facts. It is certainly not in his lack of opportunity to form a just judgment, nor, he is confident, even in his ecclesiastical point of view.

There were those, of course, who resisted to the uttermost all change, whether in the state or in the church of Italy. Of these Pius IX. and Cardinal Antonelli were as truly representatives as Ferdinand of Naples and the Grand Duke of Tuscany. They of whom these were the representatives, — *i sanfedisti, i codini, i zelanti*, as they have been popularly and variously called, — have proposed no reform of any kind, have admitted, now admit no need whatever of reform. They have ever consistently and unfalteringly resisted that revolution, step by step, in its every advance and in its every relation to the life and to the future of the people of Italy.

On the other extreme there are, equally of course, — and their number is very far from small or their influence to be disregarded, — those who, granting to these irreconcilables that they are, as they claim, the true representatives of Christianity, ask and seek only the sweeping rejection of all Christian faith and Christian following; and, with Garibaldi, denounce Pope, priest, and parson, Bible and church alike.

To one or the other of these two extreme parties there is much reason to think that most Americans look for the ecclesiastical future of Italy. Or, rather, they look for a combination of irreligious anarchy and an indefinite continuance of the papal past. Even of those who know that the word *reform* has been spoken, albeit with many meanings and in many tones, as that which alone offers to Italy a third alternative, — even of those who are, in a general way, aware that the earnest advocates of some kind of religious reform are to be found in every part of Italy and in every phase of Italian society, — there are, probably, but few who fully realize that such a reform has been and is still sought in three different directions, — very few, in other words, who have any clear idea how such men, for instance, as Padre Curci, Padre Gavazzi, and the late Baron Ricasoli are to be regarded in relation to each other.

Reform has been proposed: —

1. As a reform of the *papacy*.

2. As a reform of the Catholic Church of Italy considered apart from the papacy.

3. As a reform of *religion* in Italy, considered apart from and even as against the Church.

In illustration of each of these three distinct schemes of reform proposed to Italy, a sketch is here given, drawn, for the most part, from personal intercourse with the men or from personal knowledge of the events and incidents to which reference is made.

The proposed reform of *religion* wholly apart from the existing Church, — the so-called *Evangelical* movement, — will first be considered.

The Italian people proper inherit from their past but one form of organic Christianity. Any theory of reform, any religious teaching, therefore, which is based upon despair of their ancient Church must imply a willingness to accept such teaching from some foreign source, — to renounce Italian for an exotic Christianity. This should not be overlooked.

During the brief constitutional experiments of 1848, two Waldensian evangelists ventured to Florence and there held a monthly meeting in the Swiss chapel, in connection with which they distributed, to such as would accept them, Italian Bibles. The reaction of 1849, however, put a stop to this. The evangelists were forced to leave Tuscany, and it is said that three thousand Bibles were seized in the hands of the printer and burned.

Still, many of those who had been influenced by this teaching, and who were almost, if not wholly, of the working-classes, continued their Bible-reading at home or meeting privately with each other; and in 1851 the extirpation of this "heresy" was committed to the police. More than a hundred Florentines were "admonished;" the excellent Waldensian missionary, M. Geymonat, was imprisoned for a short time, and then sent out of the country; Captain Packenham, an Englishman, was banished for proselyting.

Some, however, continued to meet furtively for the study of the Scriptures, and the government proceeded to severer measures. Among those arrested and exiled was a young Tuscan nobleman, Count Pietro Guicciardini. Among them were also Francesco and Rosa Madaia, who, after a trial prolonged for thirteen months, were, in 1852, sentenced to years of imprisonment at hard labor, — a sentence which roused such indignation throughout Europe and America that semi-diplomatic intercession was made for them and procured its commutation to exile.

But about this time two English ladies, Miss Charlotte Johnson and Miss Elizabeth Brown, members of the sect of Plymouth Brethren, came to Florence and gave themselves devotedly to the work of Bible-teaching, going to some and receiving others, for that purpose, at their own lodgings. It was probably due, in no small measure, to their patient, all-enduring, and persistent labors that, in despite of every persecution, the number of these brethren slowly and steadily increased, in most cases, at the cost of very serious interference with their power to get work, or to earn a support for their families, if no worse. To help them in these straits, money was soon given and sent by foreigners interested in this work to the two ladies, and by them distributed among the brethren.

This, however, before long became an unworthy attraction to others of the same classes to profess themselves devoted Bible-students, and it led also to some dissension about the distribution of these funds, to guard against which, it was, in 1854, proposed that special "deacons" should be set apart. But it was a fundamental principle with the Plymouth Brethren that *no* stated ministry should, in any form, be recognized; and one of the English ladies, adhering strictly to this principle, opposed the proposition; while the other, regarding it rather from a practical point of view, decidedly favored it. The majority of the brethren concurred with the latter, and the deacons were finally elected; but this was followed, in December, 1858, by a division on that issue, the two parties being known, from the Christian names of the ladies, as the *Elisabetтини* and the *Carlottini*.

The national revolution of the following April released these Tuscan radicals from further fear of persecution, and permitted the coming of some men of better education or of greater abilities to join them. Count Guicciardini returned to Florence; Mazzarella, a Neapolitan advocate of some oratorical gifts, appeared among them, and for a few months attracted numbers to his preaching; and so also Barsali, a carpenter of Pontedera, who had for some time been a leader of a local religious gathering in that town; and, above all these, Gualtieri, the priest of a neighboring parish in the Mugello, who had, a few years before, renounced his charge and gone to Genoa. Through the exertions of Count Guicciardini a reconciliation was effected in October, 1859, and the *Libera Chiesa Evangelica Italiana*, as they now called themselves, was again one.

In the month of January, 1860, came up again not only the old

question of deacons, but also that of elders, of which many began to feel the necessity. On this, the more radical minority drew off once more, — led, be it noted, by Gualtieri and another ex-priest, Magrini, with Count Guicciardini, — and were called, thereafter, from their place of worship on the quay, the Arno party. The majority, who were now disposed to admit some kind of ministry, obtained a *locale* on the Corso Vittorio Emmanuele, No. 7, and were known as the Corso party. It thus happened, singularly enough, that the Carlottini or Arno party, who utterly abjured any ministry, were led by ordained priests; while the Corso party, who now sought a ministry, had only Miss Brown and the Pontedera carpenter for their guides. These latter published on the 14th of January a formal declaration and protest against this new schism, — probably the first printed paper in the documentary history of this movement.

Within a few months new divisions arose in the Corso party on the personal choice of their elders and deacons. A portion of these, having secured due control of a meeting — as was credibly stated — by the somewhat summary process of coming early and then locking the doors upon the rest who came later, adopted a constitution *nem. con.*, published under date of the 11th of June, and chose a certain Buriori, a schoolmaster, with Barsali, as their ministers. Miss Brown and her adherents, to the number, perhaps, of sixty or more, met thereafter at the house of one Fabroni, near San Lorenzo, and waited the progress of events.

Such is the somewhat curious story — drawn, in fact, from written memoranda furnished in 1860 by Gualtieri, Fabroni, and Barsali themselves — of the earlier days of what has since attracted so widespread an interest in England, Scotland, and America as the *Libera Chiesa Italiana*. The following extracts from letters, and from a journal of that summer of 1860, will give some idea of what these Tuscan puritans were at the time.

Sunday, July 8th. "I accompanied Dr. M. to a meeting of the Evangelicals in the Casa Schneiderf on the Lung' Arno. In a room on the ground floor some seventy-five persons assembled, for the most part apparently of the working-classes. One lady entered whom Dr. M. told me was a Countess —, English by birth, but of Italian marriage. At the end of the room was a table with a plain cloth, a loaf of bread on a plate, a decanter of wine, and a tumbler. Just outside the door sat a man at a table with Bibles to sell, or Bibles and hymn-books to lend during service.

"One of their evangelists, Gualtieri," — an honest-looking, res-

olute, sturdy man of some forty years, — “opened the services by giving out a hymn, which was sung sitting. He then offered a prayer with great earnestness of manner; all standing and *all* at its conclusion answering, Amen! Then some one read the third chapter of Philippians, of course in Italian. Gualtieri, after this, expounded for some twenty minutes from Phil. ii. vs. 12, 13, and then from iii. vs. 1-3. His theme was the great necessity of watchfulness. He was succeeded by his colleague Magrini, who spoke more slowly, and was, indeed, much the better speaker. He added to what Gualtieri had said, to the effect that our watchfulness was necessary as a test whether we had any grace, not to prevent its loss; for God’s work could not be imperfect and, therefore, if we ever had grace in our hearts we could not fall from it, etc. He spoke about half an hour.

“Then followed another hymn. The consecration of the elements consisted merely in reading, by one of the brethren, of 1 Cor. xi., after which the loaf of bread was carried about, and each one broke off a piece, and a tumbler of wine likewise carried about.”

An account of a visit to a service of the Corso party, who worshiped in a *porte cochère* closed up at the end and cross-arms, would present the same characteristics, save that the expositions of the illiterate carpenter were something less edifying, certainly to a foreign visitor, whatever they may have been to the trades-folk, porters, policemen, etc., who sat listening to him earnestly and verifying his Biblical references, each one from the open Bible in his hands.

In either case the very large majority of those present were men.

The threefold divergence which thus met these Florentine separatists on the threshold of their career has ever since continued to mark not this only, but all like movements in every part of Italy.

The Corso party proper, in this case, finding themselves with their protest and their published constitution, — or “Organic Articles,” — but without any of their early leaders, were glad, in their lack, to lend an ear to foreign counsels and to lean upon foreign help, if not, even, to court such help with expressions of eager wish to become a virtual mission of the American Episcopal Church. But though they received, for a while, some assistance from that source, the policy of that church did not encourage the acceptance of such ecclesiastical or pecuniary responsibility, nor the inauguration of such missionary operations in Italy. There was neither power of self-support nor any other foreign

arm at hand just then on which to lean, and this section of the Tuscan Evangelicals soon broke up, the more earnest of its members joining the followers of Fabroni.

These brethren had, in the mean time, fallen back upon the moral support to which, indeed, they owed the first impulses of their movement, the Waldensian missionaries, and the further story of this section is merged in that of the Waldenses in Florence.

That the Arno party, the adherents of the ex-priest Gualtieri, the left wing, so to speak, were the true representatives of this type of the reformers, bodying forth, as it did, certain genuine, vigorous, and distinctive principles of moral and religious life, soon became plain. This little band was, in all probability, the prototype of the *Libere Chiese Evangeliche Italiane*; and, if not the leading influence among those churches, certainly the source of the most unyielding opposition to any more conservative tendencies. In the year 1863 an anonymous pamphlet was published in Florence, which, though attributed to the pens of the Count Guicciardini and the ex-priest Magrini, was issued in the name of the *Libere Chiese*, and soon became the occasion of widespread discussion and of no little feeling; and also, in some degree, a test of strict consistency among the *Evangelici*. It was entitled: "Principles of the Romish, Protestant, and Christian Churches." Under this second head were summed up Waldenses, Anglicans, Lutherans, Calvinists, Wesleyans, Baptists, etc., all of which were condemned and rejected in one category as sternly as the Roman Catholics themselves, than whom, indeed, they were declared little better, in that they all allow of a distinctive ministry, and recognize ministerial acts, for example, in the services, in marriage, in the sacraments, and in other things.

Against this pamphlet some of the *Libere Chiese* did indeed protest, at least, as most inopportune, but it stood, none the less, the frank confession of the radical principles within which these Italian ultra-puritan *Evangelici* intrenched themselves, and the relations towards the rest of Christendom which they claimed to hold.

This Tuscan story is a sort of epitome of what might be written of the rest of Italy.

Soon after the grant of the Sardinian *Statuto* in 1850 a committee was formed in Nice to assist the Waldenses to build and maintain "a temple" in Turin, and to preach their faith in other towns of that kingdom. In the year 1857 a "Foreigners' Evan-

gelization Committee" was organized at Nice for such work, and after 1860 the operations of this Committee were extended into Lombardy, and gradually into the Romagna, and so on to the Marches of Ancona and the province of Bari.

The original purpose of this Committee was to sustain the Waldensian missions, but where no such pastor could be had, the little group gathered by their aid often took the form of a *Libera Chiesa*, declined all recognition of the Waldenses, and assumed the sharply defined "Christian" type of their Tuscan brethren.

None the less, the Nice Committee continued to help these Free Churches; and, moreover, when, some years later, English and American Wesleyan or Baptist missionaries appeared in the field this Committee with equal impartiality extended to them also their aid and recognition.

In 1860, when Garibaldi was Dictator of Naples, he afforded an opportunity for yet another and an independent movement of the same kind. He placed one of the Naples churches at the service of Alessandro Gavazzi, one of his own immediate followers, who there gathered a large congregation, preached to them for some three months, and then left them in charge of one Sig. Albarella, a very worthy and able advocate.

Of course, this church was soon taken from them; but some foreign Protestant residents in Naples came to their help, and when Sig. Albarella left them in turn, these foreign friends secured for them the ministration of the Waldensian pastor Appia. But part of these brethren soon repudiated Sig. Appia; and feeling, as their foreign friends had themselves admitted, that "since their political resurrection the Italians are jealous (perhaps with reason) of their right to manage their own affairs among themselves," sought to return to their former status. An English Wesleyan missionary, who soon after came to Naples, drew some of these *fratelli* around him; but a *Libera Chiesa* was formed, none the less, and thus this separatist movement finally settled into the threefold antagonism which had marked its story in North Italy.

Under similar or parallel circumstances such little bands of *Evangelici* sprang up in all parts of the kingdom.

A single copy of the Bible, obtained in 1855 by a sea-captain from Francesco Madiati, was the seed from which most interesting results followed several years afterwards on the island of Elba. Here, in 1866, a young French pastor was found with a faithful flock of a hundred, of whom sixty-four were regular communi-

cants, a fair place of worship capable of holding one hundred and fifty persons, a walled-in cemetery of their own, a Sunday-school and a parochial day-school, with a night-school for grown men, etc.

So, also, the Neapolitan advocate, Mazzarella, went in 1860 from Florence to Genoa, where he gathered a congregation. Being soon joined by Dr. De Sanctis, who was a host in himself, the *Libera Chiesa Evangelica* of Genoa maintained for some years a vigorous religious life.

From various beginnings such as these, this evangelical or extra-ecclesiastical reform movement, in some one or in all of its three forms, has since these dates continued to spread slowly in all parts of Italy. There is scarce a city — certainly none where English and Americans are found in any considerable numbers — in which something has not been done to aid some form of this movement, some foreign committee formed to encourage it and furnish means for its support, while enthusiastic and sanguine friends have ever presented some appeal in their behalf for English, Scotch, or American sympathy and aid at home.

Thanks to the unwearied devotion of the Rev. Mr. McDougal, of Florence, and the Rev. Dr. Stewart, of Leghorn, and to the Scotch Free Kirk generosity which they called forth, the Waldensians were, as early as 1862, enabled to purchase a *palazzo* on the Via Serragli in Florence, and to remove thither their theological school from Pinerolo, as well as to establish and maintain the Claudian Press, for the publication of Protestant religious literature for dissemination in all parts of Italy. Thanks to this and other help, devoted Waldensian missionaries have been placed in every centre of importance, and the whole spiritual energies of that faithful and devoted people, so sustained, seem to be put forth to rescue the people of Italy from the Church of Rome.

On the other hand, the English Wesleyans have been represented in Italy from an early day by two very devoted and superior men, — the Rev. H. J. Piggott, successively of Padua, of Milan, and of Rome, and the Rev. T. W. Jones, of Naples. Through these, several Italian Wesleyan missionaries have been sustained at different points; while Messrs. Piggott and Jones have principally devoted their own energies to the organization and support of schools.

So, likewise, Baptist missionaries, most of whom have been American, have, from a comparatively early day, been most liberally sustained in the effort to establish Baptist missions and build up an Italian Baptist Church.

Over against both and all of these the *Libere Chiese* have ever stoutly and consistently maintained their ground, and that, it must be confessed, in a very hostile and often bitter spirit; but sustained, as they have been, almost wholly by foreign and very largely by American sympathy and generosity, they have been constrained, of later years, to protest less angrily against the Waldensians as "foreigners," and to moderate their arrogant attitude towards "Protestants," as against whom, as well as against Roman Catholics, they claim an exclusive right to the name of "Christian." None the less, must it be frankly admitted that in very many instances these *Fratelli* have ever shown much personal piety, great simplicity, fervency, and devoutness; they often illustrate faithfully the grace of Christian charity among themselves; and, in not a few instances, they have shown themselves able to endure persecution for Christ's sake. The story of the mission of the evangelist Gaetano Giannini along the Adriatic coasts, and of the "Massacre of Barletta," on March 19, 1866, will ever remain on record in witness of the courageous self-devotion of one at least of these evangelists and of the sincere faith, yea even unto death, of some of the humblest of their Italian disciples.

Indeed, no candid critic of the missionary operations of either of these — foreign Wesleyans and Baptists, Waldensians or the *Libere Chiese* — will question the personal good that has been done in numerous individual instances, or the genuine personal piety which has been evoked, in many cases, under their teaching and influence.

But neither, on the other hand, can it be denied that the results of all this foreign generosity and all this activity and self-devotion are very, very far from commensurate with the largeness of the expenditure of every kind.

After five and twenty years of effort none will claim that either of these or all of them together have made any appreciable impression upon the educated or influential classes of the Italians. With the rarest individual exceptions, they have all alike gathered in only from the lower and uneducated classes, — for the most part, mechanics and small tradesfolk. And among the Italian populace, as those most intimately identified with either branch of this missionary work will freely and sadly admit, foreign money, however necessary, is, none the less, a most perilous ally to bring in aid of evangelic work. One of the most experienced English missionaries told the writer that he very seriously doubted whether all their labor had not done more to break up such faith and to

unsettle such religion as they had than to give their converts a better ; and an American of no small experience in this field once said bitterly that the number of evangelists to preach and the number of converts to receive their preaching, no matter what the doctrines taught or accepted, need be only a question of money sent over from America.

Moreover, although these all may and indeed must be regarded as together constituting one class of reformers, — agreeing, as they all do, in utterly renouncing the ancient Catholic Church of the land and aiming alike to draw the Italian people out of it to the acceptance of a new religious faith and discipline, — yet they are, none the less, bitterly divided against each other in this their common aim.

Of the foreign missions from England and America, it must be plainly said that they have obtained no hold whatever, even upon the lower classes of the Italians, whether for Wesleyan Methodism or for Baptist principles. In vain has even the wisest of these missionaries sought to disarm Italian hostility to foreign proselytizing ; he long since frankly reported to those who sent him that it was hopeless to think of introducing foreign ecclesiastical institutions into Italy, while some of those who have known so little of the Italian character that they have been sanguine of replacing the old ecclesiasticism of the land by some form of transatlantic Protestantism have attempted this so offensively, and in one instance with such insulting arrogance towards even the civil authorities, that very far more harm than good of any kind has come of it, in the anger which has been aroused against a zeal that seems wholly unable to admit that there is any Christian truth taught in the Roman Catholic Church, or any Christian principle illustrated in the lives of her children.

The Waldensians are an ancient church, venerable with a pure and noble history of persecutions faithfully borne and a faith heroically preserved. They certainly have gone forth to their work with the devout assurance that the conversion of Italy is the end for which they have been divinely preserved through such a past. But they have been forced to realize, and not unfrequently sadly to admit, that they also are virtually foreigners to those whom they would influence and win to the Christianity of the Alpine Valley Church. Little does the mere sojourner from abroad realize how strange to an Italian is the accent of the Waldeese French ; how cold to an Italian his liturgy ; how uncongenial to an Italian the manners, the modes of thought, of feeling, and of worship which

have come down to him from the sternly simple forefathers of his Valley Christianity.

Over against these are the *Libere Chiese Italiane*, — claiming to be the only really Italian reform movement offered to their countrymen. But these denounce not alone the foreign character alike of Wesleyan and of Waldensian Protestantism, but some of the fundamental principles of almost all organic Christianity; and, while they claim to be the only representatives of a truly Italian Christianity, present to their fellow-countrymen the religious reform they seek, and which Italy so sorely needs, rudely stripped of all that constitutes, to educated and really religious Catholics, the essentials of Christian worship and of a Christian church, — a reverent liturgy, an ancient creed, an historic ministry, and solemn sacraments.

Among those Italian priests who early identified themselves with this reform movement apart from and against the Catholic Church, there was none deserving more respectful and grateful memory than Dr. Luigi De Sanctis. Renouncing in 1847 his relations with the Church of Rome, and with these the ecclesiastical career which his abilities assured to him, he devoted himself during the next thirteen years to "the cause of truth and righteousness," successively in Malta, in Geneva, and in Turin. In 1860 he joined Mazzarella in Genoa, and, like Gualtieri, uniting with the brethren of the *Libere Chiese* he attempted to open and sustain a theological school in connection with this wing of the reformers. When, however, the pamphlet of 1863 — already spoken of — appeared, De Sanctis entered his protest against its radical assumptions, and removing to Florence joined the Waldenses there, and during the rest of his life worked with them. He was a man of very exceptional and varied learning, of great literary ability, and possessed of remarkable skill in writing for the people; he was most laborious and conscientious in all he undertook, and of unblemished personal Christian character. "Consecrating himself and his gifts" — says a writer in the "Christian Observer" for July, 1872, — "to the cause of the religious reformation of his countrymen, he was ready both to write works which have even now become standard and to edit books and periodicals for children and the poor. For many years he published an almanac, which, with directions for farming and gardening, household physic, and general information, contained a text for every day and the authentic histories of the Apostles and New Testament Saints. Its circulation proved how well he understood the Ital-

ians in starting it. The best almanac of its kind and low in price, it made its way into every corner of the land, and 'L' Amico di Casa' became, literally, *The Household Friend of Italy*." To this it should fairly be added that while the *Evangelici* owed to Dr. De Sanctis during the period of his labors at Genoa all that gave coherence and organic system to the *Libere Chiese*, so the Waldensians found in him during the years of his residence in Florence their one really Italian standard-bearer, the only link which connected them with the real life and genius of the people of Italy.

When, on the last day of December, 1869, De Sanctis died, the advocates of every type of religious reform united to do honor to his memory; but he left none to carry on a work which he had made so peculiarly his own.

Not De Sanctis, however, — organizer though he was of the *Libere Chiese* and popularizer of Waldensian influence and teaching, — was the representative of this type of Italian reform. Under other circumstances, De Sanctis would equally have been to a truly religious school of reformers in his church — and had he lived in the decade following rather than that preceding the Vatican Council, he might have been to Old Catholic reform — what he sought to be as the colleague of Mazzarella in Genoa or as a professor in the Waldensian College at Florence. There is another name ever to be recalled as that of the foremost representative of this whole movement.

Among the monks and other ecclesiastics who threw themselves ardently into the first revolutionary hopes of 1848 were two Romagnole friends, Ugo Bassi and Alessandro Gavazzi. The latter, especially, took a conspicuous part in preaching a crusade against Austria, when, it is recorded, standing by the side of Manin night after night, he addressed crowds of thirty and forty thousand patriots in the Piazza of St. Mark's. Afterwards in Rome he proclaimed to the crowds that gathered round him in the Colosseum the golden age of liberal politics and of pure religion which had been restored by the reforming Pope King. In the subsequent defense of Rome against the French both Bassi and Gavazzi showed the most daring devotion, whether in arousing the enthusiasm of the people, or in ministering to the wounded and the dying and in organizing military hospitals. Ugo Bassi, having, after the fall of Rome, been taken prisoner by the Austrians, was, by order of the Legate, Bedini, barbarously tortured and then shot in the piazza of Bologna. Gavazzi spent the greater part of the next ten years in exile.

In 1859 he returned to Italy. The next year he followed Garibaldi in his Sicilian campaign as Chief of the "Commission for the Care of the Wounded," and again in 1866 he accompanied the army of the Tyrol in a similar capacity. He was again with Garibaldi at Mentana. Between these military engagements, and when not seeking in England or America the means of carrying on his work, he has ever, from 1859 down, been unweariedly occupied as an evangelist at large. From Venice to Palermo, in every city of Italy, as he has had opportunity, now in some hall of a friendly foreigner, now in the open court-yard of a private *palazzo*, now in the chapel of a Waldensian pastor, of a foreign missionary, or of an Italian Plymouthist, — it mattered to him little where or at whose invitation, — wherever the occasion was offered, and his fellow-countrymen would come to hear him, there his tall, sturdy form was seen, there his powerful, resonant voice was heard exposing the falsehoods, denouncing the corruptions, and castigating the ecclesiastics of the Church of Rome.

"As De Sanctis was specially gifted with the pen," wrote the Rev. L. M. Hogg in "Good Words" for November, 1871, "so no living Italian religious opponent of the papacy has been gifted with such powers of swaying an audience by eloquence, touching all the chords of the heart, in varied tones from the gravest to the most comic, as Gavazzi."

Of all who have, at various times, challenged him or accepted his defiance, no Romish controversialist has dared, so far as is known, to stand before him to the end. Of his sincerity, self-devotion, and earnestness there is as little room for doubt as of his tremendous oratorical power. "His eloquence and genius are everywhere acknowledged," writes the Rev. Mr. McDougall; "but few know as I do the largeness and simplicity of his heart and the genuineness and depth of his piety." Mr. McDougall had ample opportunity to qualify himself to testify to both in the spring of 1867, when Gavazzi, in company with himself and the Waldensian pastor Turin, carried on a revival in Venice with such extraordinary power and success that the Waldensian mission in that city has ever since continued the most encouraging field of these evangelical operations in Italy.

But with all this wondrous power Gavazzi seems to have but little positive theology and no constructive capacity; at least, he preaches almost no positive organizing truths or principles. With steady tread and with all his energies he swings a sledge-hammer such as none other could wield, and then goes onward leaving be-

hind him only the ruins of the Romanism of those whom he addresses. "It appears," wrote one of his most zealous friends, "to be *his* province to break up the ground . . . and then to leave it to others to enter into his labors and gather in the fruits."

If ever man was the representative at once of the "Evangelical" religious protest against the Italian Catholic Church, and of the protests of each several section of these reformers against the others, — thus a representative of this movement in all its strength and in all its weakness, — Alessandro Gavazzi is that man.

Sincere, self-devoted, uncompromising, consumed with fervent zeal — doggedly demanding for the future reformed Christianity of Italy certain elements of ecclesiastical strength and continuity which can only come to it from the ancient church of his fathers, and yet too blindly hostile to that church to recognize the fact that they can only so come to it or to admit the knowledge of or faith in Christ which is found among her ministers and her children, — he combines in his own intense personality all the irreconcilable characteristics of this movement in all its several forms. He depends upon and has ever appealed to English and American support in all his labors; but, at the same time, he unsparingly rebukes the English or American Protestant who comes to take Italians into training. He ever works with Waldensian pastors, and for them, indeed, perhaps more than for any others; but he plainly tells them that their unfamiliar tongue, their simple, undemonstrative mountain habits of intercourse, their unsympathetic temperament, their cold and barren forms of worship, and their stern theology can never win the Italians to their faith. He reckons himself one of the *Evangelici*; and yet he severely condemns the *Libere Chiese* for their impracticable puritanism and their utter lack of all ecclesiastical anchorage, and declares that they have "no sympathy with him because of his strong and immutable feelings about ministry and regularity." Indeed, "the monk Gavazzi" is thrust in with the Protestants and denounced by name in the pamphlet of 1863; but, none the less, in coöperation with any of them, and in the name of them all, he deals his sturdy blows at the Pope, the priesthood, the system, the teachings, the worship, and the morals of the Church of Rome; and thousands rejoice in him and applaud his work and words who have nothing whatever in common with his honest, strong, and living Christian faith.

So this Evangelical movement itself, regarded as one type of the reform sought for Italy, is indeed sincere and earnest and self-devoted. It is doing much for many individuals among the popu-

lace and lower tradesfolk of the cities and country towns ; but it is neither influencing the more educated classes nor even reaching the peasantry. It is wholly un-Italian and exotic ; it strikes no roots into the soil ; it enters in no degree into the social life of the people as an element of the religious future of Italy ; it has no power to contribute materially to the solution of the ecclesiastical problems now before the land. They that would take an active interest in those great issues which lie yet before Italy, and upon which so much depends for the religious future of other peoples, must look elsewhere for the suggestions of a policy or for grounds of hope.

The irreligious assailant of the ecclesiastical institutions which Italy has inherited will welcome such a movement as, in its degree, weakening the hold of the Church on the people and, so far, lending them a helping hand. So calm and unbiased a judge as the "Saturday Review" years ago plainly declared that the balance of influence exerted by foreign Protestant missionary enterprise in Italy was making rather for infidelity than for either an English or an American type of Christianity.

The upper classes will never receive any new religious teaching on purely *theological* as distinguished from historic grounds ; they will never receive any religious institutions from *foreign* missionary zeal ; nor, whatever the religious or irreligious alternatives before Italy, is Protestantism — in any but the etymological sense of the word — one of them.

Such is the judgment of the most eminent statesmen of Italy, themselves heartily favorable to reform, — men like the late Prime Minister Baron Ricasoli and Count Mamiani, formerly President of the Senate of Italy. Such is the teaching from which none can escape who patiently study the facts, not in the light of their own convictions of what ought to be, but in that of personal intercourse with the classes who are doing the thinking, evolving the social philosophy, writing for the press, making the laws, and shaping the destinies of the land.

Wm. Chauncy Langdon.

BEDFORD, PENNSYLVANIA.

EDITORIAL.

THE PRACTICAL OUTCOME OF A LONG CONTROVERSY.

EARLY in the second century (about A. D. 110), Ignatius, bishop or overseer of the church at Antioch, was sent to Rome, condemned to the wild beasts in the Flavian amphitheatre. On his way to martyrdom he wrote a number of letters, which have given rise in modern times to an almost unparalleled amount of controversy. The reasons for so intense and protracted a discussion are to be found in the early date claimed for these letters and their supposed bearing upon important questions of ecclesiastical polity and Christian doctrine.

Eusebius, the historian, was acquainted with seven letters which he accepted as genuine, and he betrays no knowledge of any others. Later writers quote from six additional letters, and also from a longer recension of the seven. From internal evidence this increase in number and length is now generally supposed to have been made towards the end of the fourth or near the beginning of the fifth century, though the earliest quotation as yet found, and this but from a single letter, is about two centuries later. Translated into Latin these thirteen letters — the seven Eusebian greatly interpolated and the six additions — became in the West the current version. In the eleventh or twelfth century, probably to promote the growing Mariolatry, four epistles were added to those already in circulation. There were also in use various forms of the Acts of Ignatius's Martyrdom. As learning revived, the pretended correspondence with the Apostle John and the mother of Jesus was easily discovered to be separable from the other letters, and to be a clumsy forgery. Further examination revealed so much in the remaining letters which was evidently spurious that Protestant scholars like Calvin contemptuously rejected them in the mass, and the learned Jesuit Petavius conceded that they were interpolated. The critical sagacity of Usher prepared the way for the rejection, on all sides, of all the letters that were unknown to Eusebius, and of the expanded form of the seven which he had accepted. The Martyrdom in all its forms was also seriously discredited, and critical opinions were much divided as to whether any of the letters could be regarded as genuine. Then came the discovery of a Syriac version of three of the seven Eusebian letters, each, however, in a much shorter form. For a time men who were neither prepared to follow Calvin's method of total rejection nor to accept the seven known to Eusebius found a middle ground in the Syriac recension. But the progress of criticism showed that these letters were open to the same objections which had been urged against the seven, and that they presented peculiar difficulties of their own, so that the issue was again drawn between the acceptance or rejection of the Eusebian letters. Any middle course proved

impracticable, for the letters were so evidently of the same warp and woof that they must have proceeded from the same hand and have been transmitted in substantial integrity. At this stage of the discussion appeared one of the ablest works of modern criticism, the "*Ignatius von Antiochien*" (1873), by Dr. Theodor Zahn. Since then there has been an increasing concurrence of critical opinion in favor of the genuineness and trustworthiness of the seven letters. Dr. Zahn also rendered in a later work great service in securing a trustworthy text. Before the publication of Zahn's discussion an English scholar, a worthy successor of Usher and Pearson, Professor Lightfoot of Cambridge (now Bishop of Durham), had been attracted to the same subject. Stimulated by Zahn's investigations, and availing himself of new aids to inquiry, as well as mastering the older discussions, he has recently published the results of inquiries prosecuted at intervals, as other labors have permitted, for nearly thirty years. His work is in all respects masterly, and will do much, we believe, to confirm the confidence in the historical trustworthiness of the seven Eusebian letters already produced by Zahn's labors in the minds of most of those who have entered into them, and also to commend these letters to the acceptance of many who for various reasons have failed to be influenced by the German scholar. It is too much to expect that all doubt or distrust will be at once removed, or that critics will henceforth be of one mind. But we anticipate that the general verdict will coincide with that rendered by these two eminent scholars, and that dissent will be individual, and from men whose judgments will evince more or less of prejudice, caprice, and arbitrariness. In the field of thorough, candid, comprehensive, and trustworthy historical criticism we regard the seven Eusebian letters as at last victorious. Their genuineness being thus accredited, they must be taken account of in any attempt to understand the early development of Christianity and the Christian church. We have to deal with the utterances of a man who stood, at the close of the apostolic age, at the head of a church second to but one, perhaps to none, in importance, who is the most striking figure among the Christians of his generation, and whose testimony bears directly upon questions of deepest interest at the present hour. The long, persistent discussions in modern times respecting his letters, even the numerous forgeries which have been made, are sufficient testimony to the importance of Ignatius's genuine utterances.

Modern criticism has attempted to construct a historical highway extending from the life and teachings of Jesus to the organized Christianity which appears at the close of the second century in the form of the Old Catholic Church. The general method pursued has required a firm delineation of successive steps or stages in the process of development, a distinct characterization of consecutive periods, each of which prepared the way for the one which followed it. Such periods are, the time of Jesus's earthly ministry, the apostolic, the sub-apostolic, and the age of

Irenæus. Within the limits of this progress, it is agreed, the books of our New Testament were written, and historic Christianity gained a definite creed and form. For a season the method of historical criticism seemed to be in its results of uncertain issue. Nearly all which had been accepted as the genuine work of the so-called Apostolic Fathers was brought into suspicion. An almost impenetrable darkness seemed to rest upon the period intervening between the death of Paul and the latter half of the second century. Doubt was cast upon the common belief in the apostolic origin of several of the most important books of the New Testament. The book of Acts was attacked as historically untrustworthy, and treated as a product of a later age than that of Luke. Much of this criticism was evidently controlled by philosophical and scientific canons which were not derived from the facts of the history. Still difficulties of no trifling sort were raised. Assumptions which long had passed unchallenged were exposed. The dead uniformity of belief and life which had been attributed to the apostolic church was shown to be an illusion. The apostles themselves, it became clear, presented different conceptions and phases of Christian truth. The followers of apostles and of the first believers varied from each other and from their predecessors. No generation walked exactly in the steps of its predecessor. The attempt was made to show that the final result came about solely under the natural and universal laws of religious development, to the exclusion of the Incarnation and of Pentecost. In the contest with this destructive school of criticism and in the search for a truer estimate of the historical introduction and establishment of Christianity one of the most important tasks has been to gain a correct estimate of the age immediately consequent upon the close of the apostolic. Regret has been entertained by some that Bishop Lightfoot has turned aside from the production of such masterly commentaries upon the Pauline Epistles as he had shown himself capable of producing, and that he was occupying himself with the Apostolic Fathers. Who are they? it is asked: they are of no account to us; we desire to know what Jesus taught and his apostles. No doubt; but how shall we ascertain this? We have no immediate revelation as to the genuineness of a single letter or history of the New Testament. Criticism, learned, vigorous, proceeding from men conscientious and upright, affirms that the fundamental laws of history, and all that we know of the church when it emerges into the clear light of events and facts which can be tested and made sure, render it difficult, and indeed impossible, to suppose that Ephesians and Colossians and the pastoral Epistles were written by Paul, or that the fourth Gospel came from John, or Acts from Luke. And though such claims have mounted to extravagance, it is equally clear that they have not been mere vamping. So that it has become a matter of urgency that all the light which can be gained by the efforts of the most consummate scholarship should be turned upon the generations which immediately followed that of Paul and his contemporaries, and that a construction of the primitive Christian history should

be facilitated by employing also a reverse method from that commonly pursued, namely, by going back step by step from the well-known situation in the days of Irenæus to that of his predecessors, and so up to the days of apostles and of Jesus.

This service Bishop Lightfoot has in part fulfilled. In his discussion of the Ignatian epistles, and of the epistle of Polycarp, he has recovered to history the most difficult portion of a period whose correct interpretation is almost indispensable to a true, and is essential to a complete, understanding of that of the apostles. We think that all who have acquainted themselves with the present condition of Biblical criticism will concur in his judgment that the labor he has expended on the Apostolic Fathers, and especially on the Ignatian letters, is fully justified, although it has diverted him from the Epistles of Paul.

The benefit of his work may be seen in the complete clearing of the ground for the vindication of the Pauline origin of the canonical Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, and the pastoral Epistles. Apart from quotations which are claimed from most of these letters, and numerous verbal coincidences, the entire situation which is shown to have existed in Asia Minor, at Antioch, and at Rome, and thus in the most important regions in question, is such that the historical objections which have been urged against the genuineness of these Epistles lose their force. Nor is this all. The teaching of these Epistles and the historical conditions they disclose are in many important particulars clearly anterior to and prerequisite for those which appear in the letters of Ignatius and Polycarp, just as these naturally precede those which are disclosed in the writings of Irenæus. We cannot here pursue this line of remark, but the student who will enter upon it will find in it a rich reward.

The position of the New Testament Canon, and the relative independence of the Christians of Ignatius's day as respects apostolic or other sacred writings, is very instructive. Questions of Biblical criticism are treated in certain quarters as though they were questions of the existence of Christianity, and of the personal salvation assured to the believer in Christ. A common belief has been that the formation of the Canon was itself a work of inspired men, and that it was performed under the supervision of apostolic authority. A careful perusal of the Apostolic Fathers will dissipate forever such a delusion. Referring to the Ignatian epistles Bishop Lightfoot affirms: "There is no sign whatever in them of a Canon or authoritative collection of books of the New Testament." And the same remark may be applied to all the writings which have come down to us from the same period. Yet Ignatius and the men of his time were not without a very definite rule of Christian faith and practice. It is a very profitable study — one to be earnestly commended to any who are settling the foundations of their faith — that brings to light what this supreme authority was. We can only present it here in outline.

Ignatius's primary authority is Jesus Christ, or the gospel of Christ, meaning always by this latter phrase, which he often employs, not a book

or document, but the cardinal historical facts of Christianity, or the teaching of Jesus and his apostles. A few extracts from the letters will make this plain: —

"Therefore having become his disciples, let us learn to live according to Christianity." "Therefore was I forward to exhort you, that ye run in harmony with the mind of God: for Jesus Christ, also, our inseparable life, is the mind of the Father." "Receiving the knowledge of God, which is Jesus Christ." "It is monstrous to talk of Jesus Christ and to practise Judaism. For Christianity did not believe in [into] Judaism, but Judaism in [into] Christianity." "Christianity is a thing of might, whensoever it is hated by the world." "Jesus Christ, the unerring mouth in whom the Father hath spoken." "Do nothing through faction, but after the teaching of Christ. When I heard certain persons saying, 'If I do not find it in the charters [the Old Testament Scriptures], I do not believe it in the gospel; and on my saying to them, 'It is written,' they answered me 'That is the question.' But as for me, my charter is Jesus Christ, the inviolable charter is his cross and the death and his resurrection, and the faith through Him; wherein I desire to be justified through your prayers." "I would have you be on your guard betimes, that ye fall not into the snares of vain doctrine; but be ye fully persuaded concerning the birth and the passion and the resurrection, which took place in the time of the governorship of Pontius Pilate." "Be ye deaf, therefore, when any one speaks to you apart from Jesus Christ, who was of the race of David, who was the son of Mary, who was truly born and ate and drank, was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate, was truly crucified and died in the sight of those in heaven and those on earth and those under the earth; who, moreover, was truly raised from the dead, his Father having raised Him, who in the like fashion will so raise us also who believe on Him, his Father [I say, will raise us] in Christ Jesus, apart from whom we have not the true life."

The Ignatian letters assume that the churches to which they are addressed are acquainted with Christ's words and deeds, and with the instructions of apostles, whose authority as religious teachers is recognized. The source of this knowledge is not defined. It doubtless included documentary authorities; the letters afford striking coincidences of phraseology and forms of thought with expressions in Ephesians and 1 Corinthians, and in Matthew's and John's Gospels, and more or less probable indications of other New Testament writings. Once, Ignatius is understood by Dr. Lightfoot to appeal to some apostolic writings. But the passage yields at most a probable inference and is not decisive. Everywhere else — apart from allusions to the Old Testament Scriptures — the recognized authority is personal rather than documentary. The usual antithesis is, true and false teachers, not genuine and spurious books. We are confronted with a living, aggressive Christianity, ruled by an authority to which it yields entire obedience, but which is not yet represented by any collection of sacred writings. Christ is himself the inviolable charter of faith. The great events of his life, his incarnation, passion, death, the historical facts of which the church was already constructing its one permanent and universal creed, these were the incorruptible documents. What the apostles had taught was also to be accepted and coördinated with the

utterances of ancient prophets, and thus the way was opened in principle for the extension of the written Canon ; but, apart from all writings, or with only a limited dependence upon them, numerous societies of believers stood strong in faith and equipped for service through their union with One who had become their Saviour and Lord and inseparable life. In a word, there was once a vigorous Christianity without a New Testament ; and the obvious lesson is, that the church has nothing to fear from historical criticism. If it were able to multiply almost indefinitely the difficulties which now exist in respect to portions of the Canon, more, far more, of truth than was realized by the churches to which Ignatius wrote would be still assured to us beyond controversy by criticism itself ; and now as in the early time the one indubitable proof, the inviolable charter, of Christianity is the historic Christ.

The fullness of the Ignatian confession of Christ has already appeared.

"He is perfect man ; the Eternal, the Invisible, who became visible for our sake ; the Impalpable, the Impassible, who endured in all ways for our sake ; the mind of the Father ; the manifestation of God ; the Word of God ; our God ; the one only physician, God in man, true Life in death ; his cross is salvation and eternal life ; faith and love toward Him are the beginning and end of life, all things else follow in their train unto true nobility ; nothing is hidden from Him ; He is the door of the Father, through which Abraham and Isaac and Jacob enter in, and the prophets and the apostles and the church ; even the heavenly beings will be judged, and the angels notwithstanding all their glory, and the rulers visible and invisible, if they believe not in Christ's blood."

The universality and absoluteness of Christianity are clearly apprehended.

"The divine prophets set their hope on Him, awaited his coming, expected Him as their teacher, were saved in Him. He came and raised them from the dead."

Says Bishop Lightfoot, commenting on these last words : "This refers to the *descensus ad inferos* which occupied a prominent place in the belief of the early church. Here our Lord is assumed to have visited (*παρὼν*) the souls of the patriarchs and prophets in Hades, to have taught them (*ὡς διδάσκαλον* κ. τ. λ.) the truths of the gospel, and to have raised them (*ῥῃστεν*) either to paradise or to heaven. . . . I have already pointed out that the functions assigned to the prophets by Ignatius strongly resemble the representations in S. Peter ; and this reference to the descent into Hades also has its parallel in 1 Pet. iii. 19 ; iv. 6. Other passages in the New Testament which have been thought to refer to it are Ephes. iv. 9 ; Heb. xii. 23. This belief appears in various forms in early Christian writers." Dr. Lightfoot cites from Justin, Irenæus, Hermas, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Hippolytus. Irenæus includes this belief in his report of a discourse which he heard from an elder who had known personal disciples of our Lord. "Even Marcion," says Dr. Lightfoot, "accepted the descent of Christ into Hades, though (unless he is misrepresented) he maintained that the

righteous men and prophets under the old dispensation, as being subjects of the Demiurge, refused to listen to his preaching, and that only such persons as Cain and the other wicked characters of the Old Testament listened and were saved. . . . If this be so, it is a speaking testimony to the hold which the belief had on men's minds." Such a wide-spread — we may rather say universal — acceptance of this tenet by the church of the second century implies a prior and trusted authority for it.

We had noted other points in respect to which the study of the Ignatian letters is of value, particularly their bearing upon questions of church polity, — but our space is exhausted. We will only add the expression of our gratitude to the Bishop of Durham for the light which he has shed, in his recent volumes upon Ignatius and Polycarp, on a difficult and most important portion of church history, and for the great service he has thereby rendered the Christian faith.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ENGLISH ELECTIONS.

THE comments which the late parliamentary elections have called out thus far have, with little exception, been directed to the Irish difficulty, which has been placed directly across the path of the new Parliament. This is not to be wondered at, considering the gravity and the dramatic interest of the situation. It is a crisis, every one feels, rarely matched in times of peace either for the severity of its demand upon statesmen or for the illustration it must give of national characteristics; and one likely through its results to hold a conspicuous place in English history. Naturally enough, therefore, it has, ever since the issue of the late elections was ascertained, absorbed the attention of the English people, and drawn to itself about all the thought which Americans have given to contemporaneous English politics. So far as the latter are concerned, thinking about the situation, in the absence of precise information concerning either Lord Salisbury's or Mr. Gladstone's intentions, yields no result beyond appreciation of its difficulty and curiosity as to its issue. We believe that many of our readers will find relief, as we have done, in turning away from the baffling problem to study the late election in some of its larger aspects. A vote which expresses the political preferences of 2,600,000 new voters, in a total electorate of 5,700,000, or about 45 per cent. of the whole (we take the figures from a recent number of the "Pall Mall Gazette"), has plainly much to say about the coming life and conduct of the nation.

The preference expressed is, as every one knows, and as most people expected, for Liberalism. The new voters have, speaking generally, like those to whom the Reform Bill of 1867 gave the ballot, and like our own colored voters, joined themselves promptly to the party to which they owe the elective franchise. They are most numerous, relatively to the other voters, in the counties, and, accordingly, it was admitted beforehand that the vote in the counties would give the special lesson of the election.

As soon, therefore, as it was found that their political complexion was changed, so that instead of the hiding of Tory strength being in them they had actually become the stronghold of Liberal power, it was admitted that the new vote meant a large infusion of Liberalism into England's political life. The lesson would have made more impression, of course, if matters had gone more smoothly for the popular party in the boroughs and in Ireland. Their failure to secure a majority over the combined strength of the Conservatives and the Nationalists has, up to this time, partly concealed the substantial indications which the elections furnish of a large and permanent addition to Liberal strength. But when one recollects that among the earlier voters a strong Conservative reaction existed, due to displeasure (just or unjust) at Mr. Gladstone's Egyptian policy, dread lest the Liberal party be drawn into a crude attempt to disestablish the Church, and to trying agrarian experiments under Mr. Chamberlain's lead, so that the boroughs, in which the Liberal vote had hitherto greatly preponderated, now returned a majority of Tory candidates; and when it is also borne in mind that the Liberals probably lost, even in England, as many as fifteen seats through Mr. Parnell's temporary alliance with the Tories, and that they lost in Ireland thirty-two seats, as compared with the Parliament elected in 1880, through the growth of the Nationalist movement under Mr. Parnell's hand, — the immense increase of Liberalism is very evident.

Under these adverse circumstances, having besides, owing to excessive confidence in its own strength, made far less effort than did its two opponents, it has beaten the Conservative party (leaving out the Irish seats) by a majority of eighty-two in the House of Commons. The Irish members may properly be counted out in a comparison of the relative strength of the two parties, forming, as they do, an alien and hostile element, which attaches itself to Liberal or Conservative — at present, at any rate — simply to further its own ends. If the Nationalists are to be reckoned as likely to have future and permanent relations to English politics, they should be counted as more favorable to Liberal than Tory supremacy, notwithstanding Mr. Parnell's conduct towards the party which has braved so much and done so much for Ireland.

It may perhaps be said that it is not fair to reckon the votes just added to the popular party as its permanent possession, and to assume that the Conservative party will not hold those Liberal votes which it has gained. Probably, we admit, some moderate Liberals, from alarm at the advance England has made of late toward democracy, and dislike and dread of the new radicalism, will henceforth vote with the Tories. But we see little reason for thinking that these compose a large part of the recent defection from Liberal ranks. Tory reactions have hitherto been interpreted not as showing that Liberal principles had lost their hold on the popular heart, but that certain Liberal statesmen had committed unpopular acts. When the Tory administration has had its day the electors have given their opponents a heartier support than ever before. Mr. Gladstone's defeat in

1874 was humiliating enough, but the victory which he won in 1880 was one of the most brilliant in the history of English politics. Every one felt then that Liberal principles had a stronger hold than ever on the mind of the country.

Since then the House of Lords, under Conservative leadership, has twice threatened to veto a great Conservative measure, and has each time given way before the warning that such action would endanger its existence as a legislative body, the most imposing popular demonstrations that England had seen for many years accompanying the second warning.

We say again, therefore, that there is no ground for the belief that any large fraction of the middle classes (from which the bulk of the Liberal vote has always come) has been permanently alienated from the Liberal party. The chief causes of the late disaffection are, like those of the Conservative victory of 1874, temporary ones: disapproval of acts done by the late government abroad, under very exceptional circumstances; disappointment at the failure of the Land Act to conciliate the Irish; the pressure of hard times: these, and not the things for which Liberalism stands, were the chief causes of the late Conservative reaction.

The dread of Mr. Chamberlain, which also contributed to it, would have more significance if there were good reason for thinking him likely ever to become the leading and representative man of the party. But the late election, of itself, shows that there is not. The great falling-off of the Liberal vote in those towns where he would naturally have most influence, especially in Birmingham, where he lives, shows that he is not to wear Mr. Gladstone's mantle. A party is not a fortress which a strong man with his following can capture and hold. It is a mass of voters to be won, and he will win it in whom the greatest number of voters have supreme confidence. There is no reason for believing that Mr. Chamberlain, vigorous and bold as he is, is to gain control of the party which Mr. Gladstone still leads, and whose traditions and prevailing views are so at variance with the schemes lately propounded by the Birmingham statesman. Its action, for years to come, at any rate, must be on the lines of its recent history. And, acting on those lines in behalf of popular rights, it must have the popular strength in great preponderance on its side. The plain men who make up the mass of the electorate will vote, on the whole, for candidates who believe in and will try to secure "government by the people and for the people." Some of the shrewdest Tories think so, and are accordingly trying to outbid the Liberals by promises of popular measures. They may win an occasional election by this means, but they cannot intrench themselves in power.

For those who really believe in popular government must have in the long run an immense advantage, in securing the support of the people, over those who only pretend to believe in it for the sake of gaining power. Their professions will receive more confidence from their obviously greater sincerity. And they will be able to construct better measures, since they can put their heart into what they are doing. English political history

shows that the people are keen enough to see through a hollow Liberalism. Disraeli greatly enjoyed his witticism, no doubt, when he said, after passing his Reform Bill, in 1867, that the Tories had found the Whigs bathing and had stolen their clothes. But after the next election, in which his opponents gained a great victory, largely by the help of those whom his bill had made voters, he may have thought that masquerading in stolen garments was, after all, but sorry sport. The late election means, then, the continued dominance and the development of Liberal principles.

What does this imply for the near political future of England? Certainly the undertaking of great reforms. Mr. Gladstone's judgment must count for much when he says that disestablishment is not very far off. The advocacy of it by some Liberal candidates at the late elections, though it was very properly disavowed by those better authorized to speak for the party, has significance. The heat of the clerical advocacy of the Tory cause is an unintended admission that the Establishment has entered on perilous times. That its position has been made still less secure by the partisan zeal which its servants have just shown has been affirmed with great plausibility. The children of light were not wise in their generation when they taught 2,600,000 new voters to reckon the maintenance of the Establishment among Tory measures. As to the time when disestablishment will take place we have no prediction to make. It neither can nor should come before the public mind has been prepared for it by thorough discussion. It is fervently to be hoped that it will be deferred until some statesman shall have appeared better qualified to deal with the intricate and almost numberless problems it will present than is any one of the statesmen who can now be regarded as among the possible successors of Mr. Gladstone. But if the new democracy be willing to wait patiently for its fit time to appear, it is only because of the firm conviction that it will come at no distant day.

The abolition of the House of Lords, or such reconstruction of it as will take from hereditary legislators the power of reversing the action of the popular body, is also likely to take place before many years. The power it holds now it confesses itself to have on condition that it will not use it when forbidden to do so. The question must soon arise, Why play at government after this fashion? In the mean time the new democracy will content itself to wait by reminding itself that "that which decayeth and waxeth old is ready to vanish away." Some large modification of the law of primogeniture is also to be reckoned among the tasks which reënforced English Liberalism will set for itself and carry through.

It does not seem presumptuous to point out another way in which the new accession to Liberal strength will affect English political action, namely, by strengthening its tendencies towards a pacific and conciliatory foreign policy. "Jingoism" is the product of political traditions and social influences which chiefly affect the upper classes. It is, therefore, properly a Conservative policy. Liberalism, outside of London, has, in the main, shown little inclination towards a blustering foreign policy.

Mr. Gladstone's great victory, in 1870, was an emphatic condemnation of Beaconsfield's ambitious conduct of foreign affairs. But the love of a modest and unaggressive foreign policy has not, up to this time, become a principle fully rooted and grounded in the hearts of Liberals. The old self-asserting and combative disposition will show itself now and then, as in Lord Russell's surly dispatch demanding the surrender of Mason and Slidell, and the general discontent at the Geneva arbitration, after the award had been made. The present Tory reaction is, in no small degree, due to the suspicion that England is regarded by foreign powers as rather anxious to avoid a fight.

The addition of the new voters to the Liberal strength, and the effect which their wishes will have upon English policy, will give Jingoism less and less opportunity to get control of the British army and navy. Plain people, on the whole, love peace. The humbler the station, the less is the inclination for war. They know that fighting means for them more taxes, and very possibly the loss of relatives. It may bring national glory, but this means less to them than to those who have more historical culture, and who, also, are likely to have, through the honors heaped upon gallant friends, a larger share in the glory. If modern democracy has one clearly defined characteristic, it is the love of peace. We, as a people, are very averse to war, although as able as any to bear its cost, and, it may be added, in view of the past, not incapable of conducting it with becoming vigor and courage. As soon as the French people had a chance to show their mind as regards war they surprised the world by manifesting a strong desire to shun it. It may be asserted with confidence that the preponderance of the English electorate will be found to be of the same mind, and that its preferences will stimulate English statesmen to show an equitable and conciliatory spirit in dealing with foreign governments, instead of trying to awe other nations by displaying a ferocious temper.

Some modifications of the political life of England, likely to come from the late enlargement of the electorate, may be pointed out. Political questions will probably take a deeper hold upon the popular mind. The more voters, the more persons who take some interest in politics, the greater the volume of political speaking and writing. Especially in the counties will the increase in intelligence and zeal, as regards public matters, be perceived. There the voters have hitherto, rather as a matter of course, as the "Spectator" says in a recent article, elected, in many cases, representatives of great local families who have stood for seats in Parliament. But at the last election the new voters showed their ignorance of the English history by rudely voting against and defeating many of these candidates. Henceforth, it is evident, the counties will be fought for as hotly as the towns. Against the Liberal candidates Conservative ones will appear, who will present some other qualification for sitting in Parliament than is furnished by the name they bear or the number of acres they own. The larger political issues will be vigorously discussed. The

tenant-farmer will be made to think about other things than rents and the price of corn. More and more will he have to define his position towards the leading questions at stake, whether he change his political bias or not. This means that politics will be gradually nationalized, that is, that in electoral contests the coming decision in favor of a general policy will come to occupy the voters' thought, to the subversion of local interests and preferences. The vote will be given, not so much for the squire and against the Hares and Rabbits Bill, as for Salisbury and against Gladstone, or the reverse.

If the voters were all men of high intelligence this would not imply, perhaps, much increase of party spirit, but as most of them are not, it does imply such increase. The average voter, in any self-governing community as yet existing, will find his interest in his party about commensurate with his interest in the measure the party aims to secure, provided he clearly sees that the party is a means for securing the adoption of that measure. This statement does not need support to commend it to any one who has grown up here, and seen how passionately men are attached to their party, and how they glory in its very name, when they greatly care for the measures it supports. That this interest in a party, as such, has been less in England than here has been due to the fact that the party has not taken, as with us, a personal shape before the average voter's mind as the champion of one or two pet issues. But the tendency of English politics will be to make parties stand forth as personalities and as struggling for greatly coveted things. Out of this will grow a consciousness of membership in party, and a desire for party success, such as we are familiar with.

That this new phase in English political life will exactly resemble that which corresponds to it among us is not, of course, to be expected. The marked differences in the respective national characters and the influence of the dissimilarity in the structure of the two governments will show themselves here as elsewhere. Notably, the much greater opportunity which English institutions give and will continue to give to first-rate ability to gain its due supremacy, will be such a check to party spirit as we do not have.

But zeal for party must, one would say, have at all events this feature, there as here, namely, the impulse towards party organization. The Anglo-Saxon mind must seek to make effective any instrument which it cares for. If it finds that it has to govern through a party, it will in some way contrive to make the party capable of governing for it. This implies, first of all, obtaining the power to govern, and this means making plans for securing votes, — directly through persuasion, indirectly through putting forward suitable candidates and timely measures. This we found out long ago, and have settled down to the belief that organization of party is a necessary feature of democratic government. Its great perils, of which we are only too conscious, no more shake our conviction as to its necessity than do the financial vagaries of our Congressmen make us

sigh, like the Israelites, for a king. The English mind will come to the same conviction, notwithstanding its ridicule of the "Birmingham caucus" as an American exotic. Neither party will long let itself suffer as the Liberal party has just done from lack of organization and united counsels and systematic work in seeking votes. Indeed, in the personal work done by the Tories, we see the beginning of organized effort, just as in Mr. Gladstone's manifesto we recognize a rudimentary political platform.

What specific things will be done by party organization when it is effected it is not worth while to try to point out. It will probably have this good indirect result, whatever harm it may bring, that of doing away with the violence which is such a discreditable feature of English elections. The reason why such things do not occur among us is not so much that there are stricter laws or stronger policemen as that good sense teaches that violent demonstrations would only injure the party in behalf of which they are made. A feeling of responsibility for the cause at stake has spread through all classes who are interested in political issues, and acts as an unconscious check on all turbulent tendencies. It was in great measure owing to this feeling, we believe, that the exciting political discussions which preceded the Civil War were attended with so little violence. We cannot doubt that a similar spirit, when it shall have grown up in England, will prove itself capable of restraining the fury even of a Birmingham elector.

Then a better party organization will give, on the whole, more capable members of Parliament. For party will lay hands on strong men to present its claims and make its reputation, unless it be prevented from doing so by a corrupting system like our custom of Congressional patronage. Let English Liberalism choose men to win seats, and it will not look to lineage, or money (so long as the election laws are administered as well as now), but to effective qualities. Even in the newly-elected House of Commons (one of the striking features of which is the smallness of the number of men whose seats are due to privilege of one form or another), there are, according to a recent article in the "Spectator," 46 members of the aristocracy, 71 landowners, and 50 officers, making one third of the entire house. If to those we add 25 bankers, 24 brewers and distillers, 16 colliery-owners, 69 manufacturers, and 42 merchants, we can hardly help concluding, without denying that many of these members were elected because of manifest capacity, that what is extrinsic to legislative capacity still counts unduly in gaining a seat in Parliament.

Twenty years hence Parliament will very likely contain more rough, vulgar men than now; perhaps, also, more men who are superficial; but we believe that it will also contain many more men capable of interpreting and securing popular needs. This will be pointed out as one of the evidences that England, whatever it may have lost in picturesqueness by its long step into democracy, has become a better country for the average man to live in.

THE FEAR OF INFERENCES.

WHENEVER any change from commonly accepted opinions in theology, philosophy, or science is proposed it is almost invariably the case that alarm is felt in view of consequences which are expected to follow. If a given opinion is modified, other and more important opinions will be weakened or overthrown. The change, in itself considered, seems comparatively harmless, but certain inferences which may be drawn will be inimical to the most cherished beliefs. Sometimes such fears have been well grounded; often they have been needless; but always they have arisen. The probable or possible consequences of new theories, therefore, while worthy of consideration, cannot ordinarily be made the only and final test.

The fears which prevail in our own time are likely to lose something of their excessive magnitude if the present is compared with some former period, when fears equally disturbing, but altogether groundless, were aroused. We have been interested recently in two examples of the employment of fear of inferences as the decisive argument against advancing knowledge of the truth. They are nearly seventy years apart in time, but are contemporaneous in spirit. One example is drawn from the pages of a book which appeared in this country in 1817. It was written by Rev. James R. Willson, a Presbyterian clergyman of Philadelphia, and is entitled "A Historical Sketch of Opinions on the Atonement, interspersed with Biographical Notices of the Leading Doctors, and Outlines of the Sections of the Church, from the Incarnation of Christ to the Present Time; with Translations from Francis Turretin on the Atonement." With the one hundred and fiftieth page the author enters the nineteenth century, and devotes the remaining seventy-five pages of the historical portion to the events and tendencies of his own day. The following quotations illustrate the character of the work, and also the feeling of the large majority of the Presbyterian clergymen of that time.

The first quotation gives the author's opinion of Dr. Samuel Hopkins, of Newport:—

"He appears to have been naturally a sensible man, and his works abound with pious traits. But led away by the opinions of others who had gone before him, by errors of education, and bewildered by metaphysical subtleties, he destroys the simplicity of gospel truth, and weaves into the web of his speculations gross errors, which, when fairly disentangled and followed out, would destroy the covenant of works, the covenant of grace, and the work of redemption. *He would himself have shuddered at the consequences drawn from his writings.*"

He remarks that—

"Dr. Emmons has succeeded him, and pretty fully developed his system, which is still evolving itself, and more and more displaying the extent of its deleterious power."

Concerning the prevalence of Hopkinsianism in New England, he says:—

"We have every shade from the genuine disciples of the Genevan school to the thorough-paced Socinian, though the former among the clergy is much more rare than the latter. The Rev. John Codman, of Dorchester, indeed, is the only clergyman of Massachusetts whom we know to be a thorough Calvinist. Much division has long existed between what are called the high-toned Hopkinsians and the moderate Calvinists, or semi-Arminians, in Massachusetts. They are now said to be in a successful train of amalgamation, and that many of the most strong and offensive features of the Hopkinsians are softening; and, among others, that which exhibits a willingness to be damned for the glory of God, as the most decisive evidence of conversion. Still, it is common in the revivals to demand this 'unconditional submission,' as they are pleased to call it, to the will of God."

The establishment and growth of Andover Theological Seminary is described in detail. We can take room only for the writer's opinion of it:—

"The number of pupils is upwards of sixty" (the school, he remarks, had flourished beyond the expectation of its founders), "among all of whom, professors and pupils, there is probably not one who does not maintain the doctrine of general atonement, natural ability, unconditional submission, and other Hopkinsian peculiarities. . . . Their peculiar tenets have a prominent place in the correspondence of the young men, while prosecuting their studies, and, when they commence preaching, in their pulpit exhibitions. The spirit of proselytism is a most striking feature of their character, and leads them to lay greater stress on the errors which they have imbibed, than on the great and consolatory doctrines of the Christian faith. It seems to be nearly impossible for them to compose a sermon without interweaving them into the fabric, so intimately are they connected with every principle which they maintain, or so zealous are the preachers to propagate them. Their success, too, is as great as extraordinary zeal in either a good or bad cause will generally secure. While their piety seems to be, and we hope is, great, it is tinctured with all their aberrations from the glory of the gospel."

Among these dangerous young men there were in the senior class Joel Hawes, for many years a champion of orthodoxy; Edward W. Hooker, afterwards professor in the seminary at East Windsor, Conn.; and Richard C. Morse, one of the originators of the New York "Observer," and its proprietor for thirty-four years. In the middle class were Alvan Bond, professor in the seminary at Bangor, and pastor in Norwich, Conn., thirty years; Levi Spaulding, missionary in Ceylon fifty-five years; and Myron Winslow, missionary in India forty-six years. In the junior class were Jonas King, missionary at Athens forty-one years; Henry J. Ripley, professor in the Baptist seminary at Newton nearly fifty years; Joseph Torrey, professor in the University of Vermont forty years; Aaron Warner, professor in Amherst College; and Francis Wayland, president of Brown University. Only one student became pastor of a Unitarian church, the late Dr. Orville Dewey.

The following paragraph is almost identical with much that has been written in the present decade:—

"Some have thought that this seminary would form a barrier against the

spread of the Boston heresies, which it opposes with great zeal. The Unitarians do not themselves seem to think so, for while they write against the Andoverians in the 'General Repository' for maintaining the divinity of Christ and the atonement, they at the same time compliment them as much nigher to themselves than the Old Calvinists, and have, no doubt, penetration enough to see that the tenets taught in this great centre of operations of the New England churches do, in their nature and necessary consequences, lead to the Socinian ground. That this will be the result, as it has been in France, a few years will show, unless the Head of the church purify this fountain by casting into it the salt of truth. Several of the anti-Trinitarians of Massachusetts, we well know, were but lately Hopkinsians."

Were it not for the last sentence, we should be almost ready to affirm that the whole paragraph appeared year before last in a denominational journal.

The historical sketch closes with this edifying observation : —

"Piety is on the side of Calvinism, in all cases, though many pious men are erroneous in some of their opinions."

Well, Unitarianism did not absorb the Congregational churches after all, and is less likely to do so now than seventy years ago ; and Andover Seminary has not, in the succeeding seventy years of its very respectable history, gone back to Old School Presbyterianism, nor has it been a hot-bed of heresy. Dr. Willson, in 1817, undoubtedly expressed the fears of the large body of Presbyterian ministers in America and Great Britain.

Our other illustration is more recent. At the meeting of the London Presbytery in November last a protracted discussion was held concerning the propriety of adopting some statements explanatory of the sense in which subscription is made to the Westminster Confession of Faith. The proposed explanations were finally adopted by a large majority, but were opposed by a minority, headed by Rev. Dr. Kennedy Moore. He took exception to the declaration that Christ's sacrifice was a propitiation for the whole world. He held that the Confession teaches a limited atonement made only for certain elect persons. He is also reported to have said that he himself did not believe in universal propitiation, that the only corollary to a universal propitiation is a universal salvation, that if they went on altering the doctrines in the way they were doing, they would arrive at the doctrine of universal redemption. His strongest objection to the doctrine seems to have been a fear concerning the inferences from it.

Such instances, which might be cited by the score, may at least suggest that it is extremely difficult to predict the results which will flow from a given cause, and that the alarms of good men may be misleading, as indications of what is coming. It is wiser to discuss truth in its own light and on its own merits than to think first, last, and always of the havoc we suppose it will create at some other point by and by. The reformer cannot ignore probable results. The original thinker cannot

disregard inferences and tendencies. But results and inferences must usually take a secondary place in the consideration of new opinions and new methods. The calculation of consequences would never give the impulse of a moral reform. The prudence which cares more for inferences than for principles would never advance a single degree in the better understanding of truth. Utilitarianism is not ultimate either in ethics or theology.

Leaving out of view those who are fond of novelty for its own sake, we recognize two types of mental habit: there are those who seek truth and follow wherever it leads, and there are those who are reluctant to admit any new opinion, or any readjustment of old opinion, because they fear the disturbing effects. Some minds are always hospitable to new knowledge and impulse; others habitually oppose theories that tend to disturb the equilibrium of accepted opinions. Both classes profess that they are ready to accept whatever is true. But the one class *searches* for truth, the other stands aside and accepts new knowledge only when deprived of all excuse for declining it. There can be little doubt which of these two classes has led the world's great advances.

We offer some observations on the causes of that mental habit which regards probable inferences more than it regards the truth.

First of all, apparent inferences from a new view furnish the easiest means of judgment. When Harvey's theory of the circulation of the blood was introduced it was opposed on the ground that it would revolutionize medical practice. It was easier to insist that the prevailing methods needed no improvement than to make thorough investigations in the light of newly discovered facts. The introduction of machinery has been opposed over and over again, because it would leave no employment for workmen. Railroads should not be built because horses would become useless. This is the easiest kind of objection. Dr. Kennedy Moore thinks that universal atonement means universal salvation. He cannot believe that all men will be saved, so he will not believe that all men might be saved. It is, perhaps, too much trouble to go back to the Bible and ponder its teaching without regard to this or that inference, and, again, too much trouble to make patient inquiry as to the necessity of the inference. It requires mental toil and a disturbance of comfortable assent to reopen great subjects, and so from pure indolence we may allow a supposed inference, which may be by no means inevitable, to suppress the most important inquiries. The opinion which we suppose will be disturbed is involved with a whole set of opinions; it has been incorporated into scores of old sermons which we hate to throw away; it has, perhaps, been advocated in printed books or articles in which we have taken some pride; and indolence, to say nothing of other human weaknesses, protests against any — even an honest and necessary — inquiry, which threatens the overthrow of that cherished opinion. Before we dismiss a new view because we fear a dangerous inference from it, let us be sure that we are actuated by some

better motives than indolence or the pride of consistency. Nothing blinds like self-interest.

Another cause of the habit under consideration is distrust of men. There is even distrust of our Christian brethren. It is assumed that other men, other Christians, will not discriminate as we do. Much is made of the effect of new views on the popular mind, as if the popular mind were an impersonal somewhat that does no thinking, has no conscience, and cannot distinguish good from bad, nor true from false. Admit, it is said, that at this point in the Bible the writer had no revelation, but only the knowledge of his time, and the average hearer will hasten to the conclusion that the Bible is full of errors and has no authority. If Paul expected the coming of Christ in his own generation he loses all claim to inspired authority. The popular mind, we are told, will make quick work with it. We protest against such a representation as wanting in proper, not to say decent, regard for the intelligent people who constitute our Christian congregations. The popular mind has sometimes discriminated more clearly than its teachers. The *refusal* to admit that there is any inaccuracy or fallibility in the Bible, even when it palpably exists, has been detected and has tended to weaken the force of valid reasons for its authority. The preacher who exaggerates the claims of a doctrine is sure to be found out, and will be listened to doubtfully even when he is candid and true. It would be nearer the truth to assume that the popular mind is conservative. The preacher who advances new views is more likely to receive condemnation than approval. Popularity is often sought by declaiming vehemently in the phrases of the good old doctrines. But, at all events, we have little respect for the preacher who is afraid to trust his intelligent congregation to discriminate the spirit of Biblical truth from its letter, or who assumes that error will receive a more favorable response than truth.

Indeed, the habit of judging doctrines and theories chiefly by their expected results is really distrust of truth. It almost amounts to saying that we will not accept a certain interpretation of truth unless compelled to accept it, and merely because it involves some disturbance of the popular faith, and because it is thought better to leave good people unmolested in their doctrinal opinions. Better some narrowness, we say, than frequent readjustment of old-time theology. It was distrust of truth which made many of the clergy hostile to scientific theories of the antiquity of the globe, and of the gradual processes of evolution. It was distrust of truth which resisted the progress of Biblical learning and the studies of historical criticism. It is distrust of the truth which frowns on the attempt to frame conclusions concerning the Bible in accordance with larger knowledge of its structure, and which is intolerant of restatements of Christian doctrine.

In the last analysis there is lack of faith in God. When unchangeable forms of belief are imposed on generations yet to come it is assumed

that in the next century God will not teach his people by the Spirit as He has taught in the past; that the children will not be as wise, obedient, and Christian as the fathers. When the only response a new and broader view of truth can gain is apprehension of dreadful consequences, there is lack of faith in God. One who trusts God is not afraid of the results of any candid search after truth. He expects the fulfillment of Christ's promise that the Spirit will guide believers into the whole truth. He is certain Christ's prayer will be answered in behalf of those who should hereafter believe. He believes that those who come later will have clearer insight and more comprehensive vision and more spiritual apprehension than has yet been vouchsafed to inquirers after truth.

The history of religious progress should make us mindful of certain considerations which are calculated to dissipate needless fear.

It should be borne in mind that very rarely have the results of new doctrinal views been correctly foreseen. We should therefore not be overconfident in predicting the results of present agitation.

It should be remembered that things dreaded have often proved to be things desirable. Extending knowledge of the universe has given more exalted thoughts of God. Broader views of the universality of the gospel have proved to be conducive to zeal in missionary effort. The challenge of arbitrary theories of God's sovereignty has removed many a dark shadow from man's thought of his Heavenly Father.

Above all, it should be remembered that it is impossible to stand still. Not to go forwards is to go backwards. "He that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils," said Lord Bacon. The evils of change may be less than the evils of stagnation. As knowledge concerning the Bible, the world about us, human society, human nature, and the significance of Christianity increases, doctrinal opinions must be suitably adjusted to meet the changed conditions — or even that which we have will be taken from us. Caution is commendable, but it is not the peer of courage, and courage itself is never rash. Diplomacy has but an inferior place in religion. The prudential spirit which calculates results before it will launch out on the deeps of truth never could have created Pauls and Luthers.

It is always safe to accept truth, in whatever shape it may appear, and whithersoever it may lead, and to trust the results with the God of all truth.

A COMMUNICATION.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., January 14, 1886.

To the Editors of THE ANDOVER REVIEW.

GENTLEMEN : — Accept my thanks for your kind and extended reply to my letter of December 11.

My objection to your three postulates is removed by your explanation that you used the words "sinfulness" and "atonement" in other than their customary meanings. But would it not be better in such discussions to adhere to the recognized usages of language? I do not find any authority for your use of the words referred to.

With respect to infants dying in ignorance of sin and of the way of salvation you express the belief that "their salvation or perfecting is ethical and conscious." But you do not state the ground of that belief. You ask whether I "mean that their salvation is accomplished in the moment of death and by a miracle," whether I mean that "the transforming power of the Spirit and the power of the resurrection are applied by omnipotence while infants are dying, so that the instant after death they are radically changed in character, and appear in heaven as fully developed saints." Perhaps I should demur to the expression "fully developed," but to the rest of the statement I do not object. Most certainly I suppose that not only in the case of the infant, but also in that of the adult Christian, such a change is supernaturally wrought at death. This has been the faith of the church, and seems to accord with the Scriptural representations of the immediate passing of Lazarus, the dying thief, Stephen, and Paul into blessedness, which would be a psychological impossibility on any other supposition. It accords also in the case of infants with the declaration of our Lord that "their angels" (meaning their spirits after death, — compare Acts xii. 15) "do always behold the face of his Father which is in heaven" (Matt. xviii. 10). That some supernatural change, equivalent to a new birth, must be wrought in them at death is evident. The idea that infants will, without any such change, develop holy characters under heavenly influences is opposed to the whole teaching of the New Testament as to the necessity of regeneration, as well as to all our observation of human nature. But if some transformation must be supposed, why may we not as well suppose a complete one? The idea that the redeemed will in the next world only slowly develop holy characters under heavenly influences is a very unsatisfactory and painful one. Unless there is positive proof of the contrary, permit me to cling to the ancient belief that "the souls of believers are at their death made perfect in holiness, and do immediately pass into glory" (West. Sh. Catechism, Q. 37), and that "I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with his likeness" (Ps. xvii. 15). Your question seems to indicate that your whole conception of the method of salvation is fundamentally different from mine. You seem to hold that faith in Christ is an efficient cause, a natural means, which by a gradual process develops holy character. My idea is, that it is merely the condition on which the sovereign grace of God instantly regenerates, gradually sanctifies, and will at last instantly glorify.

Pardon me for saying that your remarks about my interpretation of Matt. xxv. 31-46 seem to me singularly infelicitous. Instead of saying that the interpretation is rejected by nearly all reputable scholars, would it not be a little more accurate to say that it is advocated by hardly any of them, the fact being that very few of them say anything about it, or seem ever to have thought of it? It is true that the word "nation" (*ἔθνος*) is applied to the Jews (John xi. 50), as also to the Samaritans (Acts viii. 9), and to other individual races and countries (Acts ii. 5). It is not true, however, that the plural "the nations" (*τὰ ἔθνη*), is thus applied. It is used in the Septuagint and in the New Testament as the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew *גוֹיִם*, of which Hebraists are united in saying that it is mostly used of heathen nations in distinction from the Jews. The expression "the nations" (*τὰ ἔθνη*) occurs 132 times in the New Testament, and is translated "the Gentiles" 93 times and "the heathen" five times. Even in most of the remaining 34 times it clearly means the Gentiles or heathen. In fact, there are only about a dozen places, most of them in the Apocalypse, in which the term seems to refer to races or to "nations" as political organizations. It is true that the expression "the righteous" (*οἱ δίκαιοι*) is applied in the New Testament to Christian believers, but it is by no means exclusively appropriated to them. It is applied to John the Baptist (Mark vi. 20) and to his parents (Luke i. 6), to Joseph the husband of Mary (Matt. i. 19), to Simeon (Luke ii. 25), to Cornelius (Acts x. 22), to Abel (Matt. xxiii. 25), to Lot (2 Pet. ii. 7). Christ speaks expressly of the prophets and righteous men (*δίκαιοι*) who desired to see the kingdom of heaven, and were not permitted (Matt. xiii. 17). And he divides all men into two classes, the just (*δίκαιοι*) and the unjust (Matt. v. 45). The term is the one commonly em-

ployed in the Septuagint to denote good men (Ps. i. 6, *et passim*). Paul expressly affirms that "the doers of the law shall be justified" (*δικαιοθεσονται*) (Rom. ii. 13). John declares that "he that doeth righteousness (*δ ποιῶν τὴν δικαιοσύνην*) is righteous" (*δικαίος*) (1 John iii. 7). And Peter strongly asserts, with special reference to a heathen officer, that "in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness (*εργαζόμενος δικαιοσύνην*) is accepted of Him" (Acts x. 35), a declaration which should go far toward dissipating the misconception, drawn from an obscure sentence in one of his epistles, that such heathen must have a future probation before they can be accepted. Since "moral heathen," as well as Christian believers, are saved, if at all, only by Christ, it is not apparent why the kingdom may not be said to have been "prepared for them from the foundation of the world." If they "have a place in it," it was probably prepared for them. And the divine blessing is too often pronounced upon good men in the Old Testament to allow us to insist upon the exclusive appropriateness of the phrase "ye blessed of my Father" to Christian believers. So far from language being used, by both sides, such as "compels us to acknowledge their belief in the Judge before whom they stand," there is nothing to indicate that they ever heard of him before. The only word which could by any possibility suggest faith in him, "Lord," Sir (*κύριε*), was the common form of address between entire strangers in Christ's day. The express claim of the false disciples (Matt. vii. 22) to have done many wonderful works in the name of Christ is as different as possible from a disclaimer of all knowledge of ever having failed in duty to One never heard of. No doubt "every humble believer, although familiar with this description, will be surprised to find that many acts which he had forgotten were acceptable and precious to the Master," but this is a very different thing from being surprised to find that one has ever served or failed to serve the Master.

Wherever the gospel is preached, that will be utterly impossible. The general application of the word "brethren" by One who taught that all men are brethren is not strange. Even if the word was used in the more restricted sense, so far from its being true that "deeds of kindness to Christ's faithful but obscure servants could not be exercised outside the Christian community," heathendom has been overrun by such Christian disciples from the days of the apostles until now. But it is impossible on *any* interpretation to give the word a restricted sense. Do you maintain that it is only by treatment of believers that Christian faith is proved? It is true that "if the heathen are to be judged by the deeds done in the body, and under the tests of the final judgment, then they are to be judged by the highest and most searching tests possible," and if their salvation depends upon their standing these tests, then not only "the masses of heathendom," but all the heathen without exception are hopelessly lost; "for by the deeds of the law shall no flesh be justified." But what if the heathen are saved, so far as they are saved at all, wholly by grace, through the redeeming work of Christ, on condition of faith in Him, and, in the absence of knowledge of Him, Christ is graciously pleased to accept certain acts of love to man as evincing the true spirit of faith?

In your closing paragraph you seem to me singularly to have misapprehended my position, and unintentionally to have done me much injustice. Of course Christ is more than the ideal man. He reveals God; He is God. But the question is, whether it is not possible to be saved by Him without knowing Him or his revelation. I do not reduce Christianity to the level of natural religion. No man can be saved by benevolence, or by faith, or by any other form of goodness. There is no salvation except by Christ. And the terms of salvation are invariable,—repentance and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. But the question is, what faith in the Lord Jesus Christ *is*, and whether the spirit of it can be manifested without personal knowledge of Him. You seem to maintain that there can be no righteousness which has not a knowledge of and faith in the Redeemer for its root. But the Scriptures speak of a good many men as righteous who never heard of Christ. I do not believe that heathen, or Christians either, can ever attain to a goodness which will secure to them salvation as a right at the bar of infinite justice; but

neither can I limit the grace and power of Christ by saying that He cannot or will not accept from those who have not rightly known Him, certain acts as being practical manifestations of the true "spirit of faith," in recognition of which He can and will, in the exercise of pure grace, bestow upon the doers of these actions that salvation which is the gift of God. In this case I see no need of or room for a future probation.

With renewed thanks for your courteous attention, I am very truly yours,
John E. Todd.

The assertion that nearly all reputable scholars reject the limited application of Matt. xxv. 32 was, perhaps, somewhat too emphatic, in view of the fact that Dean Plumptre and Dean Alford adopt that interpretation. Among those who distinctly reject it are Meyer, De Wette, and Lange. But it cannot be claimed that the majority of scholars have not considered the limited theory, and therefore have neither rejected nor accepted it, for it is discussed in detail, either in connection with millenarian theories or by itself, by all of the exegetes named above and by many others.

In respect to the term *πάντα τὰ ἔθνη* (all the nations), we find no reason to change our opinion that it "is not limited to the Gentiles so as to exclude the Jews or the kingdom of Christian believers." In the Apocalypse, as Dr. Todd admits, which carries us on to the final consummation, the term is used comprehensively, as well as in other places where the revisers render the word "nations" rather than "Gentiles." Moreover, the word *πάντα* (all) removes every limitation. Also, in the same discourse, Christ has said that the end would not come till the gospel had been preached to "all the nations" (xxiv. 14), which is fatal to the opinion that this impressive account of final judgment had in view nations to whom the gospel had not been preached and who had never heard of Christ. Also, Christ's last command to his disciples implies the expectation that his gospel would be preached to all nations before the end of the world. Besides, those who at the last judgment had been saved by knowledge of Christ will have been gathered from all nations. So, according to the interpretation which excludes Christians from its account of judgment, there would be only fragments of the several nations from some remote period before the gospel was universally known. The account cannot be reduced out of its grand proportions to any of these restricted suppositions.

To argue other points of Dr. Todd's letter would be only to repeat considerations which have already been presented at sufficient length.

THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STATISTICS OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS.

BY DR. R. GRUNDEMANN.

(Condensed Translation by Rev. C. C. Starbuck. Continued from Vol. IV. p. 376.)

C. AMERICAN SOCIETIES.

TABLE II.

Recapitulation.

I. AFRICA.

Mission Fields.	Number of Stations.	Number of Missionaries.		Total Number of Christians.	Communicants.	Accessions by Baptism last year.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars.		Expenditures in Dollars and Cents.
		American.	Native Helpers.					Both Sexes.	Girls.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
a. West Africa	64	42	172	5,669	4,480	416	48	8,405	107	77,508.72
b. South Africa	7	10	78	+4,600 8,680	729	84	+39 53	2,290	+1,250 80	20,750.64
c. East Africa	1	3	-	+460	-	-	-	-	+500	7,196.58
d. Egypt	7	10	155	1,516	1,516	310	53	4,552	1,435	83,769.96
				+6,700						
Total of American Missions in Africa	79	65	405	22,625 (11,750)	6,725	810	183 (29)	10,256	3,872 (1,750)	189,215.00

II. ASIA.

a. Western Asia	24	71	599	28,895	10,325	460	375	20,019	2,370	287,454.24
	+2			+11,183			+115		+5,800	
b. India	109	139	1,880	66,404	41,650	5,489	1,194	62,229	4,071	448,128.00
				+65,119			+243		+12,114	
c. Farther India	19	47	558	25,592	25,592	87	239	8,541	1,409	147,110.40
				+50,500			+10		+2,068	
d. China	59	132	426	10,909	8,990	963	160	4,434	884	388,897.44
				+5,003			+38		+825	
e. Japan	26	74	143	6,422	4,894	1,504	80	5,014	372	259,551.12
	+1			+5,326			+44		+1,480	
Total of American Missions in Asia	240 (3)	463	3,086	276,453 (138,231)	91,441	8,508	2,498 (450)	90,247	81,598 (22,487)	1,585,941.20 (4,800.00)

III. POLYNESIA.

(INCL. HAWAIIAN MISSIONS.)

Total of Amer. Missions in Polynesia	5	15	90	23,481 (13,800)	9,681	408	84 (30)	1,968	909 (900)	27,314.64
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AMERICAN SOCIETIES (concluded).

IV. AMERICA.

Mission Fields.	Number of Stations.	Number of Missionaries.		Total Number of Christians.	Communicants.	Accession by Baptism last year.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars.		Expenditures in Dollars and Cents.
		American.	Native Helpers.					Both Sexes.	Girls.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
a. Unit. States	75	101	249	12,542	11,962	810	87	7,348	285	178,799.76
	+25	+2	+5	+23,141	+1,254		+93	+1,000	+1,195	+4,800.00
b. West Indies	11	17	30	886	1,262	20	11	319	120	9,017.38
				+1,120						+2,400.00
Total Am. Mis. in America	111 (25)	120 (2)	284 (5)	37,639 (24,264)	14,478 (1,254)	830	191 (104)	8,667 (1,000)	1,590 (1,315)	187,817.04 +6,200.00

General Recapitulation.

Africa	70	65	405	22,625 (11,760)	6,725	810	183 (20)	10,256	3,372 (1,750)	180,215.00
Asia	240	468	3,086	276,458 (138,231)	91,441	8,508	2,406 (450)	90,247	31,598 (22,487)	1,535,941.20
Polynesia	(3)	6	16	23,481 (13,800)	9,681	403	34 (30)	1,368	909 (900)	(4,500.00)
America	111 (25)	120 (2)	284 (5)	37,639 (24,264)	14,478 (1,254)	830	191 (104)	8,667 (1,000)	1,590 (1,315)	187,817.04 (6,200.00)
Sum total of Amer. Mis.	435 (28)	663 (2)	3,865 (5)	390,198 (188,052)	122,325 (1,254)	10,546	2,906 (613)	111,128 (1,000)	37,454 (26,452)	1,897,488.43 (12,000.00) ¹

TABLE III.

RECEIPTS AND HOME EXPENSES IN DOLLARS AND CENTS.

Home Outlays.	The Receipts were from		
	America.	Colonies and especially Missionary Ground.	Funds and other Sources.
144,486.72 (720.00)	1,778,450.88 (12,000.00)	67,096.36.	187,244.16
	2,032,790.40		

¹ The discrepancy between this and Table I. I am not yet able to explain. I should be obliged for a correction. *Grundemann.*

APPENDIX TO B AND C.

COLONIAL SOCIETIES AND INDEPENDENT ENGLISH-SPEAKING MISSIONARIES.

TABLE I.

Societies. Mission Fields.	Number of Stations.			Number of Missionaries.	Total Number of Christians.	Communicants.	Accessions by Bap- tism last year.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars.		Expenditures in Dol- lars and Cents.
	European or American.	Native Helpers.							Both Sexes.	Girls.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
a. COLONIAL SOCIETIES.											
1. Canadian Presby- terian M., East- ern Section. ¹											
New Hebrides	8	12	100	2,800	755	?	16				
III. d. ²	4	3	60	130	130	106	40	1,791	130	844	28,800.00
Trinidad IV. d.				+400							18,197.76
2. Can. Pres. M., Western Section.											
India II. b.	2	3	16	118	50	27	14	250	140		12,456.00
China II. e.	1	2	32	1,128	1,128	662	2	55	30		21,185.28
Indians IV. b.	3	8	1	+1,000	130	-	3	39	?		5,656.82
				+400							
Home Outlays (W. S.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,804.56
3. Meth. Ch. of Can- ada.											
Japan II. f.	1	3	12	877	877	27*	?	?	?		13,123.68
				+500							
Indians IV. b.	50	29	43	8,691	8,691	116*	?	?	?		7,346.40
				+5,000							
Home Outlays	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8,600.00
4. Canadian Baptist M.											
India II. b.	7	8	18	1,115	1,115	255	?	?	?		17,886.08
				+2,000							
Home Outlays	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	875.52
Total	76	63	272	18,789 (9,300)	7,876	1,193	74 (18)	2,455 (120)	634 (120)		180,481.60 (28,800.00)
b. INDEPENDENT MISSIONS.											
1. Morris's Chr. School M. West Africa	1	3	1	8	-	-	1	50	20		1,200.00
2. Zambesi M. (Mr. Arnot). S. Africa	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		1,300.00
3. Miss Whately's Schools. Egypt	1	3	8	-	-	-	8	500	200		4,800.00
4. Kabyle M. Algeria	3	3	-	-	-	-	3	50	-		3,600.00

¹ This includes also the Australian society. We would report also the missionary efforts of the Australian Methodists, but have seen no reports of them for years. We have already given an estimate of this mission under B 5.

² The New Hebrides mission is one in which the Presbyterian churches of Australia and New Zealand, as well as the Free Church of Scotland, B 10, have a share. The expenses of the mission are not deducible from the report. But, judging from the Free Church, we may put down the share of Canada and Australia at \$28,800.00.

³ Female laborer.

APPENDIX TO B AND C (continued).

COLONIAL SOCIETIES AND INDEPENDENT ENGLISH-SPEAKING MISSIONARIES.

Societies. Mission Fields.	Number of Stations.	Number of Mis- sionaries.		Total Number of Christians.	Communicants.	Accessions by Bap- tism last year.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars.		Expenditures in Dol- lars and Cents.
		European or American.	Native Helpers.					Both Sexes.	Girls.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
5. M. Sch. at Joppa, Palestine	1	1	2	-	-	-	1	65	20	1,200.00
6. Børresen's Santal M. India ²	1	5	12	3,216	344	175	100	3,077	77	12,902.40 ³
7. Hägert's Santal M. India	2	1	30	500	121	-	18	540	20	5,160.00
8. Basim Faith- Mission. India	1	4	2	-	-	-	1	30	30	2,184.00
9. Orphan's M. in the Nizam dist. (C. B. Ward) India	1	3	2	53	43	5	1	59	27	2,028.00
10. Ellichpur Faith- Mission (Ful- ler) India	1	2	1	-	-	-	1	50	-	1,424.64
11. Burhampore M. (E. Ward) India	1	1	2	-	-	1	1	50	-	2,163.36 ³
12. Corou M. (Nor- ton) India	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1,246.32
13. Colar M. (Miss Anstey) India	1	5	2	11	-	-	1	850	100	6,192.00
14. Panruty M. (Miss Reade) India	1	5	2	-	-	-	1	50	20	1,200.00
15. Hainan M. (Jero- miasen) China	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,200.00
Total	16	18	64 (19)	3,788 (500)	508	182	187 (18)	4,801 (790)	514 (180)	47,700.72 (14,400.00)

TABLE II.

a. COLONIAL SOCIETIES.

II. ASIA.

b. India	9	11	34	1,233 +2,000	1,165	292	14	250	140	29,842.08
c. China	1	2	32	1,128 +1,000	1,128	662	2	55	30	21,288.48
f. Japan	1	3	12	377 +500	377	27	?	?	?	13,123.08
Total in Asia	11	16	78	2,738 +3,500	2,670	971	16	305	170	64,254.24

¹ Two female laborers.² Indian Home Missions.³ a. From England, \$4,200.96; b. Norway, \$4,545.60; c. Denmark, \$2,809.76; d. Sweden, \$159.96; e. Different Sources, \$640.32; f. Colonies, \$187.20.⁴ Seven female laborers.⁵ From America.⁶ Female laborer.

APPENDIX TO B AND C (*continued*).

III. AUSTRALASIA.

Societies. Mission Fields.	Number of Stations.		Number of Missionaries.		Total Number of Christians.	Communicants.	Accessions by Baptism last year.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars.		Expenditures in Dollars and Cents.
	European or American.	Native Helpers.							Both Sexes.	Girls.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
d. Melanesia	8	12	100	2,800	755	?	16	320	120	28,800.00	

IV. AMERICA.

b. Indians	53	32	44	3,821	3,821	116	2	30	?	13,002.72
d. West Indies	4	8	50	+5,400 130 +400	130	106	40	1,791	344	18,197.76
Total in America	57	35	94	3,951 +5,800	3,951	222	40 +2	1,830	344	31,200.48
Grand total	76	63	272	18,789 (9,300)	7,876	1,198	74 (18)	2,455 (320)	634 (120)	124,254.72 (28,800.00)

b. INDEPENDENT MISSIONS.

I. AFRICA.

a. West Africa	1	-	1	8	-	-	1	50	20	1,200.00
b. South Africa	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,200.00
c. North Africa	4	3	8	-	-	-	11	500 +50	200	8,400.00
Total in Africa	5	4	9	8	-	-	12	500 +100	200 +20	10,800.00

II. ASIA.

a. Palestine	1	-	2	-	-	-	1	65	20	1,200.00
b. India	10	13	45	3,230	508	132	118	3,446 +600	134 +140	33,800.72 +1,200.00
c. China	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,200.00
Total in Asia	11	14	45 +10	3,230 +500	508	132	119 +6	3,511 +600	134 +160	33,800.72 +3,600.00
Grand total	16	18	64 (19)	3,788 (500)	508	132	137 (18)	4,801 (700)	514 (180)	47,700.72 (14,400.00)

APPENDIX TO B AND C (concluded).

TABLE III.

Missionary Societies.	Home Outlays	Received from						
		England.	North America.	Denmark.	Norway.	Sweden.	Colonies.	Funds and Other Sources.
Canadian Presbyterians	1,804.56	-	-	-	-	-	59,299.52	-
Canadian Methodists	3,600.00	-	-	-	-	-	+28,800.00	-
Canadian Baptists	875.52	-	-	-	-	-	24,070.08	-
Independent	-	4,200.96 ¹	2,163.36 ²	2,809.76	4,545.00	159.36	18,261.60	-
		+9,600.00	+2,400.00 ³				17,175.84 ⁴	640.32
Total	6,280.08	13,800.96	4,563.36	2,809.76	4,545.00	159.36	147,607.44	640.32
		179,906.88						

D. DUTCH SOCIETIES.

Societies. Mission Fields.	Number of Stations.		Number of Missionaries.		Total Number of Christians.	Communicants.	Accessions by Baptism last year.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars.		Expenditures in Dollars and Cents.
	European or American.	Foreign Helpers.	European or American.	Foreign Helpers.					Both Sexes.	Girls.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
1. Nederlandsch Zendingenootschap (1797). Celebes and Java Home Outlays	7	18 ⁵	184 ⁶	91,879 ⁷	20,000	5,525	136	7,880	2,642		24,798.96
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9,600.00
Total											34,398.96
1873 ⁸	15	16	-	86,276	18,643	-	-	10,418	-		40,015.92
Increase	(-8) ⁹	2	-	5,608	1,367	-	-	(-2,538) ⁹	-		(-5,616.96)
2. Ermlöische Zending (1846). Java Egypt	1	2	2	50	20	-	1	20	-		804.00
	1	2	2	20	10	-	1	20	-		804.00
Total	2	4	4	70	30	-	2	40	-		1608.00

¹ No. 2-4, Table I. b.² No. 11, *ibid.*³ No. 1 and 5, *ibid.*⁴ Considerable amounts from England and America probably included.⁵ Including nine native helpers paid by the state.⁶ Thirty-six paid by the state.⁷ Including the Christians of the *Minahassa*, in round numbers, 85,000.⁸ The statistics are mostly for 1884, making the increase (or decrease) that for eleven years.⁹ The state having assumed charge of seven stations, with their scholars.

DUTCH SOCIETIES (continued).

Societies. Mission Fields.	Number of Stations.	Number of Missionaries.		Total Number of Christians.	Communicants.	Accessions by Baptism last year.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars.		Expenditure in Dollars and Cents.
		European or American.	Native Helpers.					Both Sexes.	Girls.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
3. Doopgezinde (Mennonite) Vereeniging ¹ (1847).										
Java and Sumatra	3	3	4	201*	100	-	3	61*	17*	6,839.28 ²
1873	2	3	-	108	52	-	-	55	-	8,064.00
Increase	1	-	-	93	48	-	-	6	-	(-1,224.72)
4. Java Committee (1856).										
Java and Sumatra	4	3	8	402*	150	-	6	60	-	5,291.28
1873	3	3	-	+100 468	77	-	-	+100	-	8,887.60
Increase	1	-	-	44	73	-	-	-	-	(-3,046.32)
5. Nederlandsche Zendingvereeniging (1858).										
Java	7	8	8	328	243	46	7	121	-	19,096.32 ³
1873	6	7	-	-	83	-	-	239	-	11,856.00
Increase	1	1	-	-	160	-	-	(-118)	-	7,240.32
6. N. Gereformeerde Zendingvereeniging (1859).										
Java	3	3	3	200	-	-	2	60	-	6,504.00
1873	2	2	-	324	-	-	-	14	-	3,300.48
Increase	1	1	-	(-124)	-	-	-	46	-	3,203.52
7. Utrechtsche Zendingvereeniging (1859).										
Almaheira and New Guinea	6	8	1	77	48	22	5	?	-	21,385.92
1873	8	10	-	+28	-	-	-	-	-	15,672.00
Increase	(-2)	(-2)	-	105	48	-	-	-	-	5,713.92
8. Zending der Christelyk Gereformeerde Kerk I. N. (1872).										
Java	2	3	4	?	?	-	2	190	-	6,650.40
1873	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,920.00
Increase	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,730.40
9. Seminary near Depok (1873).										
Java	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	30	-	2,968.72

¹ The Mennonites lay peculiar stress on colonizatory labors, for which we have no rubric. The defectiveness of the report suggests a doubt whether Sumatra is included.

² \$3,083.52 from abroad, \$2,400.00 of it from Germany.

³ Receipts, \$14,040.00.

DUTCH SOCIETIES (concluded).

Societies. Mission Fields.	Number of Stations.	Number of Mis- sionaries.		Total Number of Christians.	Communicants.	Accessions by Bap- tism last year.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars.		Expenditure in Dol- lars and Centa.
		European or American.	Native Helpers.					Both Sexes.	Girls.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
10. Ev. Luthersch. Genootschap voor Ind. Ar- chipel In-en Nikwendige Zending (1882). Sumatra	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	816.00

(APPENDIX.)

11. Auxiliary So- ciety for Suri- nam.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,259.84
12. Well. Anthing's Ind. Mission.	1	?	13	800	-	-	1	80	-	1,200.00
13. Sangi Mission. Sangi Islands	4	4	-	550	600	146	4	200	-	1,920.00 ¹
14. M. Netherl. Ref. Ch. in S. Africa	4*	4*	-	4,015*	1,000	?	?	?	-	14,400.00
Total	44	61	229 (4)	98,350 (198)	22,171 (21,280)	5,739	169	8,672 (340)	2,659	124,428.72 (4,728.00)
Over against 1873	(-5)	+3	-	+5,721	+1,638	-	-	(-2,604)	-	+10,240.16

TABLE II.

I. AFRICA. (South Africa.) Nethl. Ref. Ch. in South Africa No. 2 in Egypt	4*	4*	-	4,015 20	1,000 10	?	?	?	?	14,400.00 804.00
II. ASIA. (Indian Archipel.) Nos. 1-10, 12, 13	39	55	225 +2	94,237 +178	891 +20,270	5,739	161 +7	8,392 +320	2,659	95,000.16 (3,924.00)
III. AUSTRALIA. (vacant.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IV. AMERICA. (South America.) No. 11.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,359.84
Total	44	61	229 (4)	98,450 (198)	22,171 (21,280)	5,739	169 (8)	8,672 (340)	2,659	115,548.00 (4,728.00)

¹ Supported by Government. Lacking definite statistics, I have estimated each missionary's salary at a minimum of 1,200 florins.

E. FRENCH SOCIETIES.

Societies. Mission Fields.	Number of Stations.	Number of Mis- sionaries.		Total Number of Christians.	Communicants.	Accessions by Bap- tism last year.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars.		Expenditure in Dol- lars and Cents.
		European or American.	Native Helpers.					Both Sexes.	Girls.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Société des Mis- sions Évan- geliques (1824). ¹										
West Africa	2	2	1	89	-	-	1	15	-	4,800.00
South Africa	15	21	69	4,424	4,424	401	30	2,180	500	48,000.00
				+3,000						
Tahiti	2	2	6	- ²	?	-	12	800	-	4,800.00
Home Outlays	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,431.36
Total	19	25	70	4,463	4,424	401	43	2,180	500	62,031.36
			+6	+3,000				+815		
1873	14	22	-	-	2,575	-	-	2,785	-	42,096.00
Increase	5	3	-	-	1,849	-	-	202	-	19,935.86
2. Mission des églises libres de la Suisse Romande (1875).										
South Africa	2	7 ³	6	104	61	84	2	86	?	14,572.32
Home Outlays	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,576.80
Total of French Missions	21	32	82 (6)	7,567 (3,000)	4,485	485	45 (43)	3,061 (815)	500 (500)	78,190.48 (62,031.16)

F. DANISH MISSIONS.

1. Dansk Missions- selskab ⁴										
India	4	5	15	213	169	49	4	38	?	8,057.76
Greenland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	192.00
Home Outlays	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,223.44
2. Govt. Missions in Greenland	7	7	10	6,000	2,000	-	-	-	-	11,473.20
										12,000.00
Total	11	12 (7)	25 (10)	6,313 (6,000)	2,169 (2,000)	49	4	38	-	23,473.20 (12,000.00)

¹ Unhappily the original reports were not at hand. Our numbers are taken from the *Miss. Review* and *Africa*.

² We pass over these numbers as being probably reported by the London Miss. Soc. already.

³ Including three unordained helpers.

⁴ Col. 4-6, after a communication of the secretary to the *Miss. Review*: col. 6 apparently too high, as the communicants appear to be numbered for every celebration.

G. NORWEGIAN MISSIONS.

Societies. Mission Fields.	Number of Stations.			Total Number of Christians.	Communicants.	Accessions by Bap- tism last year.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars.		Expenditures in Dol- lars and Cents.
	Number of American.	European or Native Helpers.	Number of Mis- sionaries.					Both Sexes.	Girls.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Det Norske Missions- selskab ¹ (1842).	10	10	5	321	160 ²	53	10	500	?	14,528.40
South Africa	17	17	640	4,394	1,800	994	600	30,100	5,000	20,292.00
Madagascar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16,615.30
Home Outlays	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	27	27	651	5,215	1,960 (1,800)	1,047	610	30,600	5,000	51,435.60
1873	19	22	-	590	-	-	-	-	-	41,592.00
Increase	8	5	-	4,625	-	-	-	-	-	9,843.60

H. SWEDISH MISSIONS.

1. Evangeliska För- sterlands Stift- elsen (1860).	1	3	3	76	?	-	2	78	35	9,078.00
East Africa	2	3	?	?	?	-	4	180*	30	6,815.04
India	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Mission of Swed. Nat. Ch. ³ (1877).	8	6	3	76	-	-	6	208	65	15,893.04
South Africa	1	1	-	?	?	-	?	?	?	7,200.00
Total	4	7	3	76	-	-	6	208	65	23,093.04

I. FINNISH MISSIONARY SOCIETY (1858).

South Africa	8	7	-	6	-	-	4	88	47	6,945.84 ⁴
Home Outlays	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,593.44
Total	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12,539.28

¹ Numbers for 1884.² The number of communicants, or the whole number of participations? For Madagascar undoubtedly the latter, 7,265, which we have therefore divided by four for an estimate of communicants. The average number of church-goers is 88,400.³ Unhappily we have no report of this.⁴ My reduction of the Finnish mark is perhaps not quite accurate.

E—I.

Recapitulation.

Societies. Mission Fields.	Number of Stations.		Number of Missionaries.		Total Number of Christians.	Communicants.	Accessions by Baptism last year.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars.		Expenditures in Dollars and Cents.
			European or American.	Native Helpers.					Both Sexes.	Girls.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
Total of Northern Missions, F—I.	45	53 (24)	679 (10)	11,610 (6,000)	4,129 (3,800)	1,096	624 (610)	30,984	5,112 (5,000)	110,541.12	
E—I. Increase over 1873 (incomplete)	13	8	-	4,025	1,849	-	-	202	-	29,778.96	

TABLE II.

E—I.

AFRICA.											
West Africa. E. 1	2	2	1	39	-	-	1	15	-	4,800.00	
South Africa. E. 1.	31	46	80	4,855	4,645	588	6	2,854	47	38,046.56	
2 G. H. 2. I.				+3,000						+55,200.00	
Madagascar. G.	17	17	646	4,894	1,800	994	+40 600	30,100	+500 5,000	20,292.00	
East Africa. H.	1	3	3	76	-	-	2	78	86	9,078.00	
Total in Africa	51	51 +17	730	9,864 +3,000	4,645 +1,800	1,582	8 +641	33,082 +15	82 +5,500	65,416.56 +60,000.00	
ASIA.											
India. F. H. 1	6	8	15	318	169	49	8	168	80	14,872.80	
AUSTRALIA.	2	2	6	-	-	-	12	800	-	4,800.00	
Tahiti. E. 1											
AMERICA.	7	7	10	6,000	2,000	-	-	-	-	192.00	
Greenland. F. I. 2										+12,000.00	
Grand total	66	85 (24)	761 (16)	19,177 (9,000)	8,614 (3,800)	1,581	609 (652)	34,015 (815)	5,612 (5,500)	157,281.86 (76,800.00)	

TABLE III.

D — I.

Missionary Societies.	Home Outlays.	Received from					
		Holland.	France. ¹	Denmark.	Norway.	Sweden.	Russian Empire.
		D	E	F	G	H	I
D. Netherlands	9,600.00*	124,428.72 (4,728.00)	-	-	-	-	-
E. French	8,008.16	-	78,180.48	-	-	-	-
F. Danish	3,228.44	-	-	25,873.20 (12,000.00)	-	-	-
G. Norwegian	16,615.20	-	-	-	51,485.60	-	-
H. Swedish	?	-	-	-	-	16,613.04 (7,200.00)	-
I. Finnish	5,598.44	-	-	-	-	-	10,182.48
Total	41,040.24	124,428.72	78,180.48	25,873.20	51,485.60	16,613.04	10,182.48

GENERAL SUMMARY.

TABLE I.

Societies. Mission Fields.	Number of Stations.	Number of Missionaries.		Total Number of Christians.	Communicants.	Accessions by Baptism last year.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars.		Expenditures in Dollars and Cents.
		European or American.	Native Helpers.					Both Sexes.	Girls.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
A. German M.	342	517 (10)	2,564 (30)	198,975 (1,820)	72,706 (4,530)	10,327 (20)	791 (48)	40,643 (4,070)	16,898 (6,478)	640,732.32 (7,632.00)
B. British	1,167	1,268 (31)	15,662 (2,000)	1,380,074 (76,825)	386,501 (1,498)	30,659 (35)	7,123 (573)	443,818 (11,685)	147,252 (38,385)	4,041,597.68 (12,720.00)
C. American	436	668 (28)	3,866 (5)	360,198 (189,052)	122,325 (1,254)	10,546 (613)	2,906 (4)	111,128 (1,000)	37,464 (26,452)	2,042,551.20 (180,431.00)
a. Colonial	70	68 (2)	272 (9)	15,789 (9,300)	7,976 (500)	1,198 (18)	74 (18)	2,456 (320)	634 (120)	180,431.00 (28,800.00)
b. Independent	16	18 (19)	64 (229)	3,788 (98,450)	508 (22,171)	182 (18)	137 (100)	4,801 (700)	514 (180)	47,700.72 (14,400.00)
D. Dutch	44	61 (4)	229 (82)	98,450 (7,667)	22,171 (4,485)	5,789 (21,280)	109 (8)	8,672 (340)	2,669 (308)	125,148.00 (4,728.00)
E. French	21	32 (6)	82 (6)	7,667 (3,000)	4,485 (3,000)	485 (43)	46 (43)	3,081 (815)	500 (500)	78,180.48
F-I. Northern	45	53 (24)	679 (10)	11,610 (6,000)	4,129 (3,800)	1,006 (55)	624 (616)	30,364 (18,930)	5,112 (5,000)	110,541.12 (7,200.00)
Grand Total of Protestant Missions	2,146 (59)	2,675 (37)	23,317 (2,074)	2,024,451 (285,695)	600,201 (32,362)	60,227 (55)	11,869 (1,937)	645,082 (18,930)	210,518 (77,115)	7,225,923.12 (75,480.00)

¹ Including French Switzerland.

GENERAL SUMMARY (continued).

TABLE II.¹

AFRICA.

Societies. Mission Fields.	Number of Stations.	Number of Missionaries.		Total Number of Christians.	Communicants.	Accessions by Baptism last year.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars.		Expenditures in Dollars and Cents.
		European or American	Native Helpers.					Both Sexes.	Girls.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
German M.	152	219	753	57,229	22,125	4,285	229	12,762	5,483	166,084.24
British	309	313	5,483	479,373	123,999	8,517	1,684	134,154	47,009	803,538.24
American	79	65	405	22,625	6,725	810	183	10,236	3,372	142,571.60
Colonial and Ind.	5	4	9	8	-	-	12	600	220	10,800.00
Dutch	4	4	-	4,015	1,000	-	-	-	-	15,204.00
French and Northern	51	68	730	12,864	6,445	1,532	649	38,047	5,582	125,416.56
Total	600	673	7,385	576,114	160,294	15,144	2,757	190,819	62,266	1,262,714.64

ASIA.

German	104	180	1,043	67,151	25,161	3,925	370	13,547	4,006	258,824.64
British	551	671	6,316	303,806	81,372	14,813	3,900	176,770	42,573	2,164,291.68
American	240	463	3,086	276,453	91,441	8,508	2,493	90,247	31,593	1,514,341.30
Colonial and Ind.	22	30	133	10,018	3,178	1,153	141	4,506	464	101,051.76
Dutch	40	57	229	94,435	21,171	5,739	169	3,672	2,659	98,984.16
Northern	6	8	15	318	169	49	8	163	30	14,372.80
Total	963	1,409	10,822	752,176	222,492	34,182	7,086	293,910	81,325	417,436.24

AUSTRALIA AND POLYNESIA.

German	6	9	-	281	80	(-4)	4	113	45	5,963.76
British	98	79	3,135	253,716	59,654	1,522	1,040	78,894	34,387	162,660.00
American	5	15	90	23,481	9,681	403	34	1,958	909	27,314.64
Colonial and Ind.	8	12	100	2,300	755	-	16	820	120	28,800.00
French	2	2	6	-	-	-	12	800	-	4,800.00
Total	119	117	3,331	280,278	70,170	1,921	1,106	82,085	35,461	229,538.40

¹ To simplify matters we here omit all conjectural estimates.

GENERAL SUMMARY (*continued*).

AMERICA.

Societies. Mission Fields.	Number of Stations	Number of Missionaries.			Total Number of Christians.	Communicants.	Accessions by Baptism last year.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars.		Expenditures in Dollars and Cents.
		European and American.	Native Helpers.						Total.	Girls.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
German	80	109	788	69,314	25,340	2,111	138	14,221	6,859	24,707.76	
British	209	205	623	233,179	101,478	5,907	499	53,500	22,683	247,946.16	
American	111	120	284	87,639	14,478	890	191	8,937	1,680	192,137.04	
Colonial and Ind.	57	35	94	3,751	3,951	222	42	1,830	844	31,200.48	
Dutch	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,359.84	
Northern	7	7	10	6,000	2,000	-	-	-	-	12,192.00	
Total	464	476	1,779	415,883	147,245	8,970	920	78,218	31,466	509,543.28	

Recapitulation.

AFRICA	600	673	7,885	576,114	160,294	15,144	2,757	190,819	62,266	1,232,714.64	
ASIA	963	1,409	10,822	752,176	222,492	34,132	7,086	233,910	81,325	4,173,966.24	
AUSTRALASIA	119	117	3,331	280,278	70,170	1,921	1,106	82,085	35,461	229,538.40	
AMERICA	464	476	1,779	415,883	147,245	8,970	920	78,218	31,466	509,543.28	
Home Out-lays	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,049,860.56	
Grand total	2,146	2,675	23,317	2,024,451	600,201	60,217	11,869	646,032	210,518	7,225,623.12	

Increase in the last Decade.

German M. Ss.	47	13	-	64,967	25,271	-	-	8,619*	-	96,000.00 ¹	
British	296	118	-	241,309	84,118	-	-	133,640	-	968,029.86	
American	89	127	-	147,599	48,676	-	-	61,507	-	354,877.44	
Dutch	(-10)	8	-	5,721	1,686	-	-	(-2,604)	-	11,240.16	
French	3	10	-	?	1,910	-	-	298	-	60,084.48	
Danish	1	3	-	?	?	-	-	?	-	4,273.20	
Norwegian	8	6	-	4,625	?	-	-	?	-	9,843.60	
Swedish	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,969.84	
Finnish	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,379.28	
Total	434	296	-	464,321	161,656	-	-	201,460	-	1,502,697.36	

¹ Approximate, according to receipts of ten years ago.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

THE year 1883 is everywhere assumed as the basis, only extreme paucity of material occasionally inducing me to refer to earlier or later reports. Newer undertakings are therefore unnoticed, and many of those that are reported have experienced a considerable enlargement within two years.

The number of missionaries, simple as its determination may seem, shows at once how missionary statistics still fall a good deal short of absolute accuracy. Many societies reckon only *ordained* missionaries, others all white laborers. Missionary *physicians* I have always reckoned as missionaries; doubtless a good many handicraft helpers are included. Should I ever attempt a similar work at greater leisure, I would, instead of the one, have several headings.

The various terms applied by different societies to native helpers, such as *catechist*, *evangelist*, *native helper*, etc., are used so variously as to result in a good many gaps under this heading.

The *female missionaries* are not reckoned. There are difficulties, as in a certain sense every missionary's wife is a fellow-laborer. Another time, however, I would gladly devote a special column to ladies who are specially appointed.

Under the next heading the circumstances constrained me, unhappily, to unite numbers of differing significance. Among the native Christians I have sometimes included catechumens and all persons whatever who have broken with heathenism. Some reports give under this heading only regular *church-goers*. Some reckon only the *baptized*. But as the conditions of baptism are so various, even here we have, so to speak, fractions which as yet lack a precise general denominator. Almost all American societies omit this heading, and give only the number of communicants. Often the most wearisome computation by analogies, or reference to earlier reports, was necessary to make out the number of children and adherents. But I have made it my effort always to hold these estimates within the possible truth.

Column 10 is peculiarly conjectural in its results.

The *expenses* ought really to include the products of the various industries pursued in various missions, and often contributing materially to their support. The omission of these, for instance, causes the expenses of the Moravian mission at Surinam to appear unreasonably low.

The outlays of the British and American societies appear in our tables much lower than in other accounts. We could not simply transfer their statements, and, for instance, with the Baptists and Methodists, put down the Christian cities of Berlin, Hamburg, etc., as mission stations. Deducting, therefore, such outlays, we must reduce the costs of administration in like proportion. And even where a society, like the S. P. G., works on the same field among both heathen and colonists, I have done my best to present only the missions to the heathen.

Where measurably complete reports were not obtainable, the fact is indicated by an asterisk, though unhappily none too consistently.

Home Outlays I make to include, besides costs of administration, expenses on account of invalid missionaries, for the promotion of interest at home, printing, and diffusion of missionary literature, etc.; the net profit of the last, where possible, being deducted.

The foregoing statements will make it sufficiently evident how far,

after all my toilsome labor, my contribution to missionary statistics still halts behind completeness. To have attempted to add the various headings which some will be ill content to miss would have been too much for my present strength, and would have involved, perhaps, still greater difficulties in the effort to render them satisfactory.

But, with all its defects, I believe that even the present work will contribute somewhat towards paving the way for a *Statistic of Protestant Missions* which shall continually be coming nearer to exactness. *Above all, it rests with the Missionary Societies to come in some way to an understanding, such as shall secure that computations are made on the same principle.*

Dr. Grundemann.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS. PART II. S. IGNATIUS. S. POLYCARP. Revised Texts with Introductions, Notes, Dissertations, and Translations. By J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D. D., D. C. L., LL. D., Bishop of Durham. Vol. I. 8vo, pp. xii., 740; Vol. II. Sect. 1, 8vo, pp. 584; Sect. 2, 8vo, pp. 533 (585-1117). London: Macmillan & Co. 1885.

DR. ADOLF HARNACK (whose own important work on the "Rise of Church Doctrine" has recently been issued) pronounces these volumes of Bishop Lightfoot "the most learned and careful Patristic monograph which has appeared in the nineteenth century," and adds that "it has been elaborated with a diligence and knowledge of the subject which show that Lightfoot has made himself master of this department, and placed himself beyond the reach of any rival." Dr. Salmon in "The Academy" has greeted it with almost equal praise; and the reviewer in "The Athenæum" — which for long has commonly estimated all works of Biblical Introduction and early Patristics in accordance with the conclusions of critics who bring down the date of a large portion of the New Testament writings to the second century — asks, in an unwonted tone, whether the field is to be left in possession of the conservatives, and does not venture to hint at more than a probability that some champion "may stand up against them [Zahn, Funk, and Lightfoot] with adequate resources and equal power." We apprehend that such a critic, if he arise, will be far more likely to accept in substance their conclusions, and that the Ignatian problems which remain — and such there undoubtedly are — will be considered from the vantage ground thus secured.

The object, however, of this notice is not to review the discussions opened by these rich and weighty volumes, but to give a brief summary of their contents.

The first volume opens with a critical examination of the testimonies available respecting the legal condition of Christians under Trajan, and with a sifting of the traditions that have gathered around the name of Ignatius. Then follows an elaborate and exhaustive account of the manuscripts and versions on which the text of the letters rests. The discussion of the genuineness of the seven letters recognized by Eusebius is preceded by a collection of all the passages in ancient authors which are supposed to mention Ignatius or his writings, or to quote from them;

by a review of the conclusive evidence on which the Long Recension is rejected as spurious; and by a thorough and final criticism of the claims of the Curetonian Letters. Having been persuaded by Zahn's arguments of the probable genuineness of the seven Eusebian letters we are not surprised at the result of these investigations by Bishop Lightfoot; but we suspect that those who have paid the most attention to such researches will be most impressed by his masterly treatment of all the points in dispute, and by the increased strength he has given to the argument. He estimates the force of the external evidence more highly than other critics who accept his conclusions. We cannot but think that they too much depreciate it. But however this may be, the argument from the internal evidence will generally be accepted as conclusive, and it has never before been presented so fully and convincingly. The treatment of the historical, geographical, and other incidental allusions which appear in the letters is particularly fresh and helpful.

The remaining pages of the first volume — upwards of three hundred — are mostly given to the Letters of Polycarp and of the Smyrnaeans. The same comprehensive and exhaustive method of discussion is pursued as in the preceding pages. The relations of the Church and the Empire under Hadrian and the Antonines are considered; then the manuscripts, versions, quotations, and references; then the question of genuineness; followed by a minute investigation of the year and day of Polycarp's martyrdom, and of the date of Pionius's. The volume closes with a map tracing the route of Ignatius from Antioch to Rome and illustrative of his Epistles, with an admirable index to the volume, and a few valuable supplementary notes.

The second volume divides into two sections, separately bound but continuously paged. The first section gives, in three hundred and fifty-two pages, introductions to each of the seven Epistles, a critical text, with copious notes. These notes abound in discussions incidentally important for commentary upon the New Testament. After a full account and critical examination of the different forms of the Acts of Ignatius's Martyrdom, the section ends with translations of the genuine Epistles and of the Antiochian and the Roman Acts.

The second section contains, with translations of the Epistle of Polycarp, of the Letter of the Smyrnaeans and of Pionius's Life of Polycarp, an index of subject-matter; an index of scriptural passages quoted or indicated in the genuine Ignatian Epistles; the thirteen Greek Epistles of the Long Recension, with the Epistle of Polycarp and the Smyrnaean letter, — all with introductions, critical texts, and notes; the Syriac letters with translations; an interesting and important Anglo-Latin version containing a translation of twelve letters by Bishop Grosseteste, or his assistants, and four others appended afterwards by an unknown hand; the prayer of Hero in a Latin and a Coptic version, re-translated into Greek by Bishop Lightfoot; and other matter from Syriac, Arabic, and Coptic sources, the whole forming an invaluable collection of texts and discussions of Ignatian documents.

The character of the genuine letters, the number, purposes, and times of the forged documents, the controversies over them, supply numerous points of contact with the general history of the church, and especially with the history of doctrine and polity, from the apostolic age to the present time. These are fittingly noticed by Dr. Lightfoot, and give occasion for notes and special discussions, stored with information and

acute and sound reasoning. Indeed, the whole work is a masterpiece of historical criticism, exhibiting a marvelous erudition combined with an equally admirable clearness and strength of judgment.

Egbert C. Smyth.

DEFENCE AND CONFIRMATION OF THE FAITH: Six lectures delivered before the Western Theological Seminary in the year 1885, on the foundation of the Elliot Lectureship. Pp. 201. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

LECTURE I., by Rev. Dr. William M. Taylor, of New York, concerns the argument for Christianity from Messianic prophecy. The argument and its importance are stated in an effective manner. For popular use the argument is not strengthened by Dan. ix. 25 f., because of the difficulty of establishing a *terminus a quo*.

In Lecture II. President Cutler (whose name, by the way, is wrongly given as Cutter), of Western Reserve College, discusses "the Philosophy of Religion considered as pointing toward a divine Redeemer of men." A good definition of religion is given. The argument is that man is a religious being, that there is a God for man to worship, and that no mere philosophy of religion can satisfactorily deal with the sense of moral defect and guilt in the human soul; hence the need of a divine Redeemer.

Lecture III., by Rev. Dr. Simon McPherson, of Chicago, is on "Jesus Christ, the unique reconciler of contradictories in thought and character." The position is rightly taken that the preacher's apologetics should be Christocentric. This apologetic is developed *con amore*.

In Lecture IV. Rev. Dr. Nathaniel West, of St. Paul, discusses the proof of the resurrection of Christ. He has the warrant of 1 Cor. xv. for assigning the highest importance to this resurrection. The philosophical and psychological presuppositions are presented; then the historical evidence; lastly the various theories by which skeptics account for the belief in the fact, which has been universal in the church. One feels in reading this that 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25 would be profitable meditation for all polemic and critical writing. On pages 96 and 101 the term "higher criticism" is used as though nothing were higher criticism except that hostile to revealed religion. Any critical discussion of the contents of the Scriptures as distinguished from the letter is higher criticism, whether it be hostile to revelation or not. The argument is well worth study.

In Lecture V. President Scovell, of Wooster University, shows the connection between Christianity and civilization as exemplified in the individual. At the outset the lecturer is moved to answer Col. Robert Ingersoll according to Prov. xxvi. 5. The lecture as a whole is a dignified answer to the challenge to produce a power which will secure civilization and lift it to higher levels.

Rev. Dr. Henry McCook, of Philadelphia, presents in Lecture VI. an argument for the existence of a designing mind as cause of the world, based on the maternal instinct of insects. Some valuable discriminations are presented.

As a whole this volume is a decided protest against a sensational philosophy. It is adapted to stimulate to correct thinking on the part of non-clerical Christians, for whom the volume was apparently intended. These lectures, especially the second and third, may furnish ministers with valuable suggestions as to method in treating these subjects.

F. B. Denio.

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, BANGOR, ME.

THE PEOPLE'S BIBLE : Discourses upon Holy Scripture. By JOSEPH PARKER, D. D., Minister of the City Temple, Holborn Viaduct, London. Vol. I. : The Book of Genesis. New York : Funk & Wagnalls, 10 and 12 Dey Street. 1885.

It is Dr. Parker's intention to discourse upon the whole of Scripture, the discourses to make up twenty-five volumes. The present volume is marked Volume I., but it is not, as we understand, the first in the order of publication. Three volumes of discourses upon the Gospel by Matthew, entitled "The Inner Life of Christ," have already appeared, and also three volumes upon the Acts of the Apostles, entitled "Apostolic Life." The idea of covering the Bible in some systematic order is evidently fascinating to a mind like Dr. Parker's with its homiletic resources, and the task is by no means an impossible one, as the rate of progress can be made to vary according to the amount of homiletic material. Thus the discourses upon the Book of Genesis occupy but a third of the space given to the Gospel by Matthew or to the Book of the Acts.

Dr. Parker's method of treating Scripture is his own. He is as original in method as in statement. We do not find upon these pages the quaint spirituality of Matthew Henry, nor the fine analysis of Robertson. What we have is a series of bold generalizations. The imagination is Dr. Parker's instrument of interpretation. Words, characters, situations are seized upon and made the theme of striking utterances. His style is not pictorial after the manner of Dr. Guthrie, but of a higher order in its picturesqueness, and it is always terse, vivid, and emphatic. If we had Dr. Parker's ear we should ask him why he deals to such an extent in italics and capitals. Men of ideas can afford to use common type. There is not a sentence in the book before us which has been intensified in print in which the idea could not have been trusted to take care of itself.

So much can be said for the author's intellectual work as revealed in the present volume, in its originality, scope, vigor, and point, that it would be a pleasure to the reader, as well as to the critic, to say more. One is conscious, however, in reading these pages that Dr. Parker is not always doing his best work. Some of the expositions are simply interesting or striking. We have the right to ask more than this from the author of the sermon upon "The Unknown Quantity in Christ." We are not willing to allow a man of spiritual insight to put us off with intellectual brilliancy. Some of the discourses, too, are unnecessarily fragmentary. The subjects do not receive the completeness of treatment which they deserve. The treatment of a subject may be complete without being exhaustive. We suspect that the pure homiletic instinct is growing upon the author too rapidly even for the good of the sermon. His mind attacks a subject, forces it to yield up its points, and then seems to grow weary of it. We think that more use of the critical and spiritual faculties would help these sermons as sermons.

We are heartily glad that Dr. Parker has set himself to the task before him, for when all has been said in criticism that can fairly be said, it remains true, as remarked by Mr. Spurgeon, that "his track is his own, and the jewels which he lets fall in his progress are from his own caskets;" this will give a permanent value to his works when the productions of copyists will be forgotten.

Wm. J. Tucker.

THE GREEK ISLANDS AND TURKEY AFTER THE WAR. By HENRY M. FIELD, D. D. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. 1885.

ONE charm of Dr. Field's books of travel lies in their reality. He always writes heartily and in good faith, never affecting an interest which he does not feel and cannot communicate. And the things which most interest him are such as are of interest to the great majority of his readers. We should all like to visit the places which he has visited and to meet the people whom he has met. The wide social acquaintance of Dr. Field has given him, easy access to desirable persons and places. He writes with the knowledge of a gentleman as well as with the information of a traveler.

The route of travel marked out in the present volume is full of sacred and classic associations. One is never off the great pathway of history. Many places reduplicate their interest to the mind of the traveler and offer the boldest contrasts in the thoughts which they waken. Dr. Field allows himself the natural reflections which the different scenes suggest, but he keeps to his narrative without useless moralizing.

In the latter half of the volume Dr. Field recalls the events of the war of 1877, and traces its effect in the reconstruction of the nationalities along the Danube. Two maps giving the political situation before and after the war add very much to the value of the narrative.

We have no desire to expatriate Dr. Field, but we congratulate ourselves upon those growing instincts and widening sympathies which turn his feet toward "less happier lands."

Wm. J. Tucker.

THE PROPHET OF THE GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAINS. BY CHARLES EGBERT CRADDOCK. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1885.

THIS is in many ways an interesting and remarkable story. It has the charm of freshness in the type of life it delineates, of beauty in its descriptions of natural scenery, and of vigor and subtlety in the presentation of character.

The stories — "In the Tennessee Mountains" — by the same authoress had, indeed, made her readers partially acquainted with the phase of human society and manners which the present volume more fully depicts; but that phase is so remote from the common, and so little hitherto known in literature, that it will be some time yet before the attraction of novelty has disappeared from such men and women and dialect and ways as those of these mountain-dwellers brought before us in Miss Murfree's pictorial narrative.

The main interest of the tale, considered as a development of human experiences, concentrates about the love-story of Dorinda Cayce, and the spiritual struggles and destinies of Hiram Kelsey, the introspective, ignorant, noble, but half-crazed preacher and "prophet" of the Big Smoky Mountain district. These two lives touch one another at many points; and at one most critical passage in Dorinda's history the remembrance of the Prophet — absent, imprisoned, wrongly accused — is made the occasion of the catastrophe in her affairs with Rick Tyler, her worthless lover, and so of her own destiny. But the interest attaching to each of them is distinctly separable, and so nearly parallel and equal that some readers will feel that the girl, and some the preacher, is — spite of the title of the book — the central figure.

Dorinda is throughout a distinctly conceived, beautiful and noble character. One wonders, indeed, how so much physical loveliness as is hers could blossom out of such a family-stock as the brutal, whiskey-drinking tribe of the Cayces. It is like the gorgeous flower which bursts forth from the uncouth and savage cactus-hedge, but there is nothing impossible about it. And from the first moment of her apparition, holding the plow-handles on the June morning of the first page of the volume, to the last glimpse of her, brooding over the Prophet's conjectured transit like Elijah to the skies, she is every way a creature of womanliness, purity, and light.

The most beautiful scene in the whole story is doubtless that one in old Groundhog Cayce's cabin where Dorinda and Rick Tyler had their evening interview, beginning with Dorinda's embarrassed sense of the passionate gaze of her long-separated lover which unsteadied the motion of her reel and tangled the yellow yarn, and ending with her opening the door out into the night, with the passionate declaration of the only terms on which the man she had loved could ever enter it again. But the beauty of the scene is all from her. It is her loveliness and womanliness and nobleness which transfigures the rude place, the rough apartment, the coarse surroundings, and lend interest to the generally uninteresting and repulsive person and actions of her brutal lover.

The other chief figure of the story — that of the Prophet — is more ambitious certainly, but hardly so successful in presentation. It is, to be sure, an exceedingly interesting character which is drawn in Hiram Kelsey, with his mingled tenderness and severity, his passions of rage and despondency, his fervors of faith and despair. Indeed, one of the chief attractions of these Tennessee-mountain stories is the vividness with which they depict the power of certain extreme phases of religious doctrine on the rude men and women with whom they deal; making a kind of natural matrix and setting either for such an oily hypocrite as Jake Tobin or for such an enthusiast as Hiram Kelsey.

But all the widely variant moods of Kelsey hardly prepare the way for that catastrophe of his fate which, in a rather bungling and improbable way, makes him a willing substitute in death for Micajah Green, his bitter enemy. The trouble with the act is not, as Mr. Howells says it is, in his reference to it in "Harper's" Editor's Study, that it is "romantic." The world is still romantic enough to admire and reverence self-sacrifice, even to the last possible surrender. But the act seems no very natural outcome and culmination of the Prophet's character. The man who was known through all the Smoky for his power to make his hearers "see wrath and smell brimstone;" whose "tempestuous fury" at mention of the names of the witnesses against him on his unjust trial terrified even the rough people of the mountains; and who, the same evening he dies for his implacable foe, prays God to "cut him off" and is claimed by Pete Cayce as one who "fairly *de-spised* 'Cajah G-G-Green an' r-raged ter git even with him," is hardly the man, however changeable his moods, to illustrate with anything like natural probability the supreme reach of self-sacrifice. But apart from the strained and unnatural *dénouement* of the Prophet's end, the character of Hiram Kelsey is pathetically and powerfully drawn.

One of the great charms of this author's writing is the beautiful and subtle delineation of the aspects of physical nature amid the scenes of which her actors have their being. Nothing can surpass the frequent

felicity of these descriptions and the delicacy of observation which they indicate. Yet it may be suggested that they are sometimes interjected with irrelevant and almost irritating minuteness into the flow of passionate dialogue, the participants in which can by no conceivability be supposed to partake of any cognizance of those aspects of nature which the reader is summoned to observe. Mountain dwellers of uncultured types are notoriously not observant of nature's finer phases of beauty in sky, foliage, or flower. It would be a pity to have a gift so rare as Miss Murfree's in the depiction of the changeful aspects of the physical world in which she sets her characters so used as to become a kind of mannerism annoying in its habitual recurrence. Miss Murfree has a future before her to which an already large constituency of readers is looking with increasing interest and confidence.

Geo. Leon Walker.

HARTFORD, CONN.

POETS OF AMERICA. By EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN. Pp. xv., 516. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1885.

A FEW years ago Professor Edward Dowden, treating of the poetry of Democracy as represented and illustrated by Walt Whitman, thought it worthy of remark that the historical school of criticism, which attempts to connect the history of literature with "the larger history of society and the general movement of civilizations, creeds, forms of national life and feeling," — that this historical school of criticism had not attempted to apply its method and principles to the literature of America. The reason he offered in explanation of this apparent neglect was, that American literature was only a little inclosed "paradise of European culture," quite hedged in from the "howling wilderness of Yankee democracy;" that Longfellow, Irving, Bryant, and Lowell were Europeans, except in the accident of citizenship; that, aside from the works of Emerson and Walt Whitman, a chapter upon American literature would be, of necessity, "not a criticism, but a prophecy."

This view of the case, which has been taken by others besides Professor Dowden, is not Mr. Stedman's view. He believes, on the contrary, that "the literary product of this new people differs from the literary product of the English, or any other people of the Old World," and his book is intended to make that difference clear, and to apply the methods of the historical school of criticism to the poetry of Professor Dowden's "paradise" and "howling wilderness" alike. He enters upon this task, however, with the caution that we are not to expect that our literature "will exhibit a quality specifically American in the sense that the product of Italy is Italian, or that of France is French." We are not to look for "absolute novelty in structure, language, or theme," but for an Americanism which is "displayed in quality of tone, and in faithful expression of the dominant popular moods."

Even with this moderate form of statement there will be differences of opinion as to whether Mr. Stedman has made out his case, just as there will be differences of opinion as to the justice of some of his critical estimates of particular writers; but there can scarcely be any difference of opinion as to the generous spirit, the catholic taste, the fine insight, the sympathetic judgment, and the eloquent expression which give a persuasive charm to his pages. Certainly, if the time has come, as Mr. Stedman

thinks it has, to record the achievements of a true American school of poetry, we could not desire a more competent or a more graceful chronicler than himself; we have once more, and this time in the peaceful field of letters, the fortunate conjunction of the hour and the man.

The greater part of Mr. Stedman's book, and the better part also, is that which reviews at length the characteristics and the achievements of a select group of our poets, — happily corresponding with the muses in number, — to each of whom a chapter is devoted. Is it necessary to name them? Would all of them enjoy this preëminence by the consenting suffrages of the readers of poetry? The question need not be pressed. It is enough that the master of the feast summons them, for this occasion, to the highest seats. They are Bryant, Whittier, Emerson, Longfellow, Poe, Holmes, Lowell, Whitman, and Taylor. Although the list is not a long one, it contains the names of poets that are not merely dissimilar, but diverse, in the spirit and method of their works. An adequate survey of their writings, involving also, as it must to some extent, an estimate of the men, demands a wide range of critical judgment. It is a strong proof of Mr. Stedman's qualifications for the task that his judgment seems equally steady and unfaltering in every part of his varied theme. He conducts us with the courteous and confident manner of some Great-Heart, especially commissioned from the Interpreter's house to perform this service for us; and though the way lies over the Hill Difficulty as well as the Delectable Mountains, through Vanity Fair and the Enchanted Ground as well as the Land of Beulah, we follow him with the confidence which a true guide always inspires.

It is not meant, of course, that the author's estimates will always be accepted, or that his treatment of these different poets will be felt to be, in all cases, equally satisfactory; but dissent or disapproval will generally be the result of previously formed judgments which it is not easy to abandon, or of an impatience with uncongenial authors which the reader has not learned to control so completely as has the critic.

Take, for example, the review of Walt Whitman. Not a few readers, probably the majority, are so repelled by the manner, and by much of the matter, of Mr. Whitman's books that they would deny him the title of poet. One easily sees, too, and indeed would know beforehand, that there is much in Whitman's work that is distasteful and annoying to Mr. Stedman; yet he does not hesitate, while condemning clearly and eloquently the trivial and the repulsive in Whitman's poetry, to declare that "both instinct and judgment, with our Greek choruses in mind, and Pindar, and the Hebrew bards, long since led me to number him among the foremost lyric and idyllic poets." It is probably safe to say that a good many, who also have the Hebrew bards in mind if not the Greek choruses and Pindar, will decline to adopt this estimate, and yet, at the same time, will recognize its value as the opinion of a judge who is superior to the prejudice or the impatience that not infrequently determines the literary judgments of others.

Did the limits of this notice permit, it would be a pleasure to quote passages from these chapters on the greater poets, in illustration of the author's delicacy of insight and felicity of expression. A remark that he makes concerning Emerson may be applied with equal truth to himself: "His prose is that of a wise man, plus a poet." With the candor of a wise man, and the quick sympathy of a poet, he has passed in patient review the varied productions of our American poets, and this is

an item of his general verdict: "A reverent feeling, emancipated from dogma and imbued with grace, underlies the wholesome morality of our national poets. No country has possessed a group, equal in talent, that has presented more willingly whatsoever things are pure, lovely, and of good report." And again, speaking of the "very few whom we now recognize as the true founders of an American literature," he says: "No successors, with more original art and higher imagination, can labor to more purpose. If the arrow hits its mark, the aim was at the bowstring; the river strengthens and broadens, but the sands of gold wash down from near its source."

The opening chapter of the book, on Early and Recent Conditions, is of great interest and value for its thoughtful enumeration of the unfavorable conditions that delayed for a long time the production of a high order of poetry in this country, — of the special restrictions that have been laid upon the American Muse, together with some counterbalancing advantages, — and of the prominent traits of American verse. The second chapter, entitled Growth of the American School, contains a rapid and comprehensive sketch of the progress of poetry among us, in which, if there is felt to be some lack of proportion, there is still graphic and just characterization, as well as artistic grouping. These two chapters admirably prepare the way for the special reviews of the leading poets, to which reference has already been made.

The final chapter, entitled The Outlook, has for its distinct purpose "to glance at the existing condition of our poetry, and to speculate concerning the near future." The author wisely disclaims any intention to prophesy, but, "in the cautious mood of a weather-sage," forecasts the probabilities. He closes with these hopeful words, all the more grateful because they are not the utterance of hasty enthusiasm: —

"Concerning the dawn which may soon break upon us unawares, as we make conjecture of the future of American song it is difficult to keep the level of restraint — to avoid 'rising on the wings of prophecy.' Who can doubt that it will correspond to the future of the land itself, — of America now wholly free and interblending, with not one but a score of civic capitals, each an emulative centre of taste and invention, a focus of energetic life, ceaseless in action, radiant with the glow of beauty and creative power."

Henry L. Chapman.

BOWDOIN COLLEGE.

THE GREEK PREPOSITIONS, studied from their original meanings as designations of space. By F. A. ADAMS, PH. D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1885.

THIS is an exceedingly readable book. It is written in a style at once thoughtful and vivacious, and exhibiting at times a quaint terseness of expression which is as pointed as it is pleasing.

The author has conducted his investigations rather in the spirit of the German metaphysical tendencies of a former generation than according to the scientific methods of more recent philological study. In his own words, "The store-house of facts used in the present study is the language of the Greek Literature, — the Greek Language at its best. As the work is Psychological, not Etymological, it does not discuss the origins of words. It is not the form of the words, but the thought that underlies them, that is here the object of search; not the changing fortunes through which a written word has passed till it comes to the form in which we

have it in our hands; but what the word means now that it is in our hands, and how it comes to mean what we know it does mean."

But while it may be true that the etymological method often makes havoc of exegesis by attaching undue importance to the mechanism of the sentence, to the neglect of the logic of the context, it is no less true that the psychological method has frequently led to "the discovery of hidden meanings which no Greek ever dreamed of" as well as to "the invention of nice distinctions between similar or precisely equivalent expressions." Hence it would seem that neither method should be exclusively followed. It was to be expected, therefore, that Dr. Adams, following as he has done but one method of inquiry, should often reach conclusions from which the use of the other method would have withheld him. Yet his book enters a hitherto much neglected field, where the student has always found more or less perplexity, and, for many reasons, deserves the hospitable reception which the author craves for it.

Edward G. Coy.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. Husband and Wife, or The Theory of Marriage and its Consequences. By George Zabriskie Gray, D. D., Dean of the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge. With an Introduction by the Rt. Rev. F. D. Huntington, D. D., Bishop of Central New York. Second Edition. Pp. ix., 142. 1886. \$1.00.

Little, Brown, & Co., Boston. Organic Scientific Philosophy. Scientific Theism. By Francis Ellingwood Abbot, Ph. D. Pp. xiii., 219. 1885.

American Unitarian Association, Boston. Views of Religion. By Theodore Parker. With an Introduction by James Freeman Clarke. Pp. x., 466. 1885. \$1.00.

Cupples, Upham & Co., Boston. Sermons Preached in the First Church, Boston. By Rufus Ellis, D. D., Late Minister of the Church. Pp. 354. 1885; — Literature. Ralph Waldo Emerson. France and Voltaire. Voltaire and Frederick the Great. Frederick the Great and Macaulay. Albert Dürer. The Brothers Grimm. Bettina Von Arnim. Dante on the Recent Italian Struggle. By Hermann Grimm. Pp. xii., 297. 1886.

Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, Boston. Outlines of Congregational History. By Rev. George Huntington, Professor of Logic and Rhetoric, Carleton College. Pp. vii., 201. 1885.

Ginn & Co., Boston. Outlines of Psychology. Dictated Portions of the Lectures of Hermann Lotze. Translated and edited by George T. Ladd, Professor of Philosophy in Yale College. Pp. ix., 200. 1886.

Harper & Brothers, New York. History of Christian Doctrine. By Henry C. Sheldon, Professor of Historical Theology in Boston University. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. xiv., 856. \$3.50; — Beyond the Grave. By Dr. Hermann Cremer, Professor of Theology in the University of Greifswald. Translated from the German by the Rev. Samuel T. Lowrie, D. D. With an Introduction by the Rev. A. A. Hodge, D. D. 16mo, pp. xl., 154. 75 cents.

Scribner & Welford, New York. Clark's Foreign Theological Library, New Series. Vol. xxiii. A History of the Jewish People in the time of Jesus Christ. By Emil Schürer, D. D., M. A., Professor of Theology at the University of Giessen. Being a Second and Revised Edition of a "Manual of the History of New Testament Times." Second Division. The Internal Condition of Palestine, and of the Jewish People, in the Time of Jesus Christ. Translated

by Sophia Taylor and Rev. Peter Christie. 2 vols., pp. xii., 379; viii., 327;—The Acts of the Apostles, with Introduction, Maps, and Notes. By Thomas M. Lindsay, D. D., Professor of Divinity and Church History, Free Church College, Glasgow. Vol. II. (Chapters xiii.-xxviii.) Pp. 157.

Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. My Study and Other Essays. By Austin Phelps, D. D., Professor Emeritus in Andover Theological Seminary. 12mo, pp. vi., 319. 1886. \$1.50;—A History of German Literature. By W. Scherer. Translated from the Third German Edition by Mrs. F. C. Conybeare. Edited by F. Max Müller. 2 vols. 12mo, pp. xii., 401; vii., 425. 1886. \$3.50;—The Doctrine of Endless Punishment. By Prof. W. G. T. Shedd, D. D. 8vo, pp. vii., 163. 1886. \$1.50;—God's Revelations of Himself to Men. As successively made in the Patriarchal, Jewish and Christian Dispensations, and in the Messianic Kingdom. By Samuel J. Andrews, author of "The Life of Our Lord Upon Earth." Crown 8vo, pp. xiv., 391. 1886. \$2.50.

Funk & Wagnalls, New York. Thirty Thousand Thoughts, being Extracts covering a comprehensive circle of religious and allied topics. Edited by the Rev. Canon H. D. M. Spence, M. A., Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M. A., Rev. Charles Neil, M. A. Pp. vi., 524. 1885. \$3.50;—Sunrise on the Soul. A Series of Suggestions. By Hugh Smith Carpenter, author of "Here and Beyond," etc. Pp. ix., 329. 1885;—The Homiletic Review. Edited by I. K. Funk, D. D. Vol. X. From July to December, 1885.

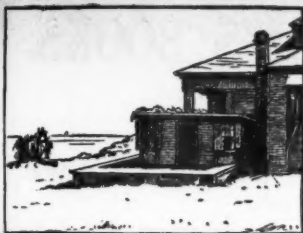
Biglow & Main, New York and Chicago. Christian Chorals, for the Chapel and Fireside. Edited by Melancthon Woolsey Stryker. Pp. 307. 1885.

Iverson, Blakeman, Taylor, & Co., New York and Chicago. Outlines of Universal History. Designed as a Text-Book and for Private Reading. By George Park Fisher, D. D., LL. D., Professor in Yale College. 8vo, pp. xvi., 674. \$3.00.

George H. Buchan & Co., Philadelphia. Evolution and Religion, from the Standpoint of one who Believes in Both. A Lecture delivered in the Philadelphia Academy of Music, Seventh December, 1885. By Minot J. Savage, Church of the Unity, Boston. 12mo, pp. 52. 25 cents;—George Eliot's Two Marriages. An Essay by Charles Gordon Ames. Fourth Edition. Pp. 34.

Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati. The Shakespearean Myth: William Shakespeare and Circumstantial Evidence. By Appleton Morgan, A. M., LL. B., author of "The Law of Literature," etc. Pp. xviii., 342. 1886. \$2.00.

T. S. Denison, Chicago. An Iron Crown. A Tale of the Great Republic. Pp. 560. \$1.50.



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and in different attitudes, so that the man himself is before us, as the devoted student of nature, the brilliant lecturer, the correspondent of eminent men in every land, the good citizen, the bright companion, the hearty friend, the wonderful teacher. — *Science* (New York).

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Such a work involves many kinds of talent, great patience, and ample scholarship; above all, it involves genius, and if the quality of this book were to be summed up in a single word, this one pregnant word comes first to mind, and remains after fullest reflection. — *Christian Union* (New York).

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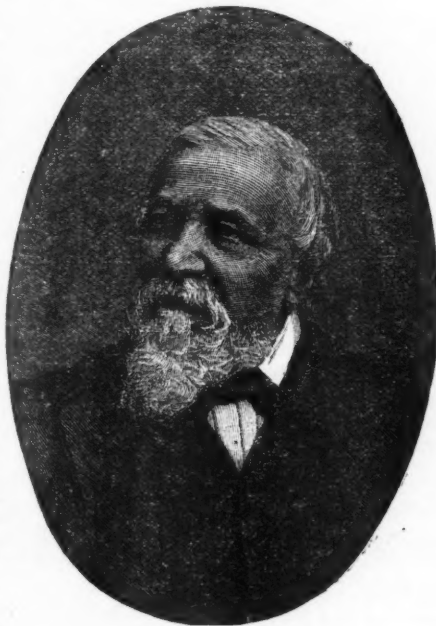
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